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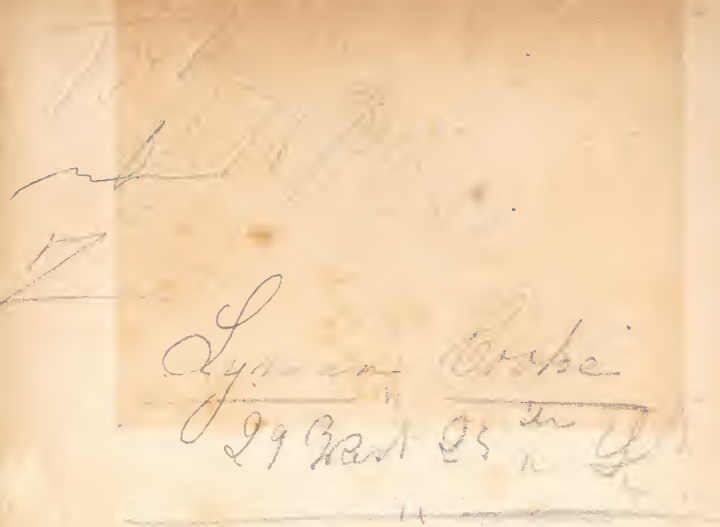

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AB

MEMOIRS

OF

GREAT COMMANDERS.

George Payne Rainsford.

BY G. P. R. JAMES, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF DARNLEY, RICHELIEU, HENRY MASTERTON, THE GIPSEY, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

JOHN WILSON, ESQ.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

THIS BOOK,

AN OFFERING OF PERSONAL REGARD AND A TRIBUTE OF SINCERE ADMIRATION,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS VERY FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

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The greater part of the following pages were written nearly a year and a half ago, since which time various circumstances have intervened to obstruct the author and impede the publication. He trusts, nevertheless, that these occurrences, however annoying to himself, have not had any effect in injuring the work; for, favoured by the public far more than he is conscious of deserving, there is no labour he would not undertake, no effort he would not make, to secure the continuance of its approbation.

As some of the lives are much more brief and general than others, the word "Memoirs" has been used, perhaps erroneously, as having a more confined meaning than "Lives:" but at the same time, the author thinks it necessary to say a few words in regard to the causes which prevented some of these sketches from being as much finished and as minute as others. In one instance the character he was called upon to pourtray, though necessarily included in the series, possessed so few points on which the writer's mind could rest with pleasure, that notwithstanding his efforts to the contrary, he unconsciously abridged the detail. In another, he found that a far superior pen to his own, was engaged in giving a lengthened and accurate account of the person to whom the memoir he had commenced referred: and nothing remained for him, but to confine himself to the general outline. In regard to a third,

although an infinity of unauthenticated anecdotes and doubtful statements were to be found, for which the writer could discover no clear authority, yet very little precise information was to be obtained.

It is true, that these circumstances must, more or less, affect every volume of biography; but the excuse, he trusts, will not on that account be held the less valid, for not having been in all instances as full and circumstantial as he could have wished.

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HENRY V.

KING OF ENGLAND.

Henry, the fifth English monarch of that name, was born at Monmouth, on the banks of the pleasant Wye, in the year 1384-5. He was the eldest son of Henry Earl of Derby, and of Mary de Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford. During his infancy reverses and successes passed rapidly over his father's head, and at the age of thirteen years he found himself the eldest son of the King of England, and was created by his father Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. The early education of Henry the Fifth is unknown; but it may be inferred, that during the life of his mother, principles of high honour and virtue had been instilled into his bosom, which became dormant, though not extinct, as rising towards manhood, evil companions took advantage of idleness and indulgence to call into action the passions of the young Prince, in order to lead him to their own purposes.

The tales of his debauchery, and the depravity of his taste, while a youth, have been doubted and contradicted, but not disproved by modern historians; but the positive assertions of older writers, whose means of information was great, and immediate, must always be more valuable than the theoretical doubts of persons who lived when a thousand sources of knowledge have been buried under the lumber of ages. It is therefore more than probable that, in his youth, Henry the Fifth gave himself up to low companions, unworthy a Prince and a gentleman, and yielded to his passions those indulgences which were forbidden by his reason. Nevertheless, through the whole course of his youthful errors, as pourtrayed by those least favourable in their account, there is to be seen the gleaming forth of

those better principles, that nobler soul, which rendered him in after years one of the greatest and best of English monarchs.

Out of a multitude of events which might be brought forward to prove this fact, one of the best authenticated, and the most striking, is his submission to Chief Justice Gascoign.

Henry, it would appear, had entered the Court of Justice in support of one of his dissolute companions, who had rendered himself amenable to the laws of his country. Notwithstanding the presence and influence of the Prince, the magistrate did his duty towards the offender, without fear or favour, and in the heat of the moment, Henry struck the judge upon the judgment-seat. Still unmoved and unruffled, the Chief Justice, without a hesitation on the score of the Prince's rank or power, at once committed him for contempt of court.

Time had been given for the better spirit to assume her influence, and struck with the conscientious courage of the judge, the heir apparent of the British throne submitted to the punishment he had merited, and suffered himself without opposition to be led to prison, thus setting a noble example of obedience to the laws. His father was of a mind well qualified to appreciate the conduct both of his son and of his son's judge, and when the news was brought him —probably by those who sought to inflame the monarch's mind against the punisher of his son—he exclaimed with joy; "Blessed is the King whose magistrates possess courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; and still more happy is he who has for a son, a prince willing to endure such wholesome chastisement."

Although from all accounts, it would appear that many parts of the Prince's conduct gave great pain and offence to his father, yet we find that Henry IV. never scrupled to entrust to his care some of the greatest and most important military operations of his reign. Whether the Prince had already displayed the qualities of a soldier, in a degree sufficient to attract the notice of his father, or whether the King sought only to habituate him early to that inevitable career of arms which was in those days one of the misfortunes of royalty, we are not informed; but so early as his sixteenth or seventeeth year he fought at the battle of Shrewsbury, in which Henry Hotspur was slain. What

was the part assigned to the Prince on this occasion I do not find stated precisely; but all accounts agree that he proved of infinite assistance and service to his father; and fought long in the thickest of the battle, after having been severely wounded by an arrow in the face.

The death of Percy spread dismay amongst his soldiers and allies, and after a fight of nearly four hours the party of Northumberland fled, leaving the King master of the field of battle, and a number of noble prisoners. Many of these were executed, either at Shrewsbury or London; and the Earl of Northumberland, the chief support of the rebellion, made his peace for the time to meditate his rebellions.

Owen Glendower, however, one of the confederates, was still in arms in Wales; and while Henry IV. returned in triumph to London, he despatched his eldest son, at the head of considerable forces to reduce the Principality to obedience. The unhappy Glendower, unable to oppose the army led against him, was forced to fly, and, abandoned by his friends and followers, is said to have died of starvation, amongst the caves and wildernesses in which he sought refuge. In the meanwhile the Prince of Wales conducted his expedition with skill and wisdom; the whole country submitted to his power; and having re-established order and tranquillity, he returned to London with honour and praise.

Although the Earl of Northumberland had made submission, and had been permitted by the King to remain unmolested in his estates and dignities, but a short time elapsed before he was again deep in conspiracy against the Monarch. The plot, however, was detected before it was ripe. The principal conspirators were arrested and beheaded, and the Earl of Northumberland himself fled into Scotland, which had promised him aid and support, and thence into France, in search of more efficient succour. The King meanwhile took possession of all Northumberland, and while he made himself master of the strong places which had been garrisoned by the troops of the Earl, he sent the Prince of Wales forward into Scotland, upon one of those cruel expeditions which disgrace the records of the border. Massacre, ruin, and destruction, were the end and object, and no ultimate advantage was pretended or obtained by any party. The weak, mild, and unhappy

Robert King of Scotland, was then struggling through the latter years of his life; and his country, desolated by factions, and weakened by intestine strife, was in no state to offer effectual opposition to the English invasion. After a long march through the country, in which an immense quantity of property was destroyed and plundered, the Prince of Wales concluded a truce of some months with the border chiefs, and returned with honour easily obtained.

Little farther occurs in the history of Henry as Prince of Wales which is interesting in itself, if stripped of the embellishments added to it by the fancy of our great poet. A project of marriage, between the heir of the British crown and a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, was entertained for some time, but died away, and the opposite, or Orleans party in France, was afterwards supported by the English Crown. At length Henry the Fourth, on the eve of an expedition to the Holy Land, undertaken, it is said, in expiation of his usurpation of the throne, was struck with apoplexy; and a tale, in regard to his death, is current amongst the historians of the period, on which Shakspeare has founded one of the most beautiful scenes in his historical dramas. The poet, however, is far more indebted for the splendour of his materials to his own imagination, than any historical record. The facts, as related by the best authorities, are simply as follow.

After the first attack of apoplexy the King was carried to a chamber in the house of the Abbot of Westminster, and put to bed, and at his own desire the crown was laid upon his pillow. He languished in a state of great weakness for some time, and at length, after a second attack, appeared to those who were watching him to have yielded the spirit. The chamberlain immediately spread a linen cloth over the face of the King, and hastened to communicate his supposed death to the heir apparent, who entering the room, to take a last look at his father's body, removed the crown from his pillow, and carried it into another apartment. After a short time the monarch revived, and sending for his son demanded, angrily, why he had removed the crown. The Prince replied, that all men had thought him dead, and therefore he had taken the symbol of royalty as his by right.

"What right I have to it myself, God knows," replied the King, "and how I have enjoyed it."

"Of that," replied the Prince, "it is not for me to judge; but if you die King, my father, I will have the garland, and will defend it with my sword against all enemies as you have done."

Not long after this conversation Henry IV. expired, and his son, the Prince of Wales, was immediately proclaimed King by the title of Henry V. But his change was not alone in name or station; his vices and his follies he cast from him, as an unworthy garment, and assumed with royalty a royal mind. The debauched companions of his youth were banished from his presence and his counsels, and forbidden to approach within ten miles of his dwelling. But at the same time we are assured that they were not left in indigence or necessity. Wisdom and virtue became the only recommendations which raised any one to his service, and those who had proved themselves most worthy, under the government of the former monarch, found themselves most readily welcomed by the new King.

It is not of course, my purpose here to trace the life of Henry V. in the civil government of his realm, but nevertheless one of his first actions after coming to the throne deserves some notice, as exemplifying the character of him whose life as a commander I am about to sketch. The body of the unhappy King Richard the Second had remained unhonoured at Langly during the period which had elapsed between his death and that of him who had deposed him; but although there were still living many claimants to the crown of England whose right was unquestionably prior to his own, Henry V. had the boldness or the magnanimity to remove the dust of the murdered monarch to Westminister, and solemnly mingle it with that of former kings. He knew that there is but one title by which a king can hold his throne against internal enemies—the consent of his people; and but one means by which he can guard it against external foes—the sword; and he felt himself qualified to rely on both.

It is said that the first warlike expedition of the young King was prompted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on those motives which Protestant writers are somewhat too fond of attributing to Roman Catholic prelates. We are

told that, at the Parliament of Leicester, the Commons demanded that a bill should be reconsidered and passed, which had been brought in during a former session for appropriating the lands and moneys bestowed by devotees upon the church, to the more popular purpose (as it was at that time) of providing a standing army. To turn the mind of the King from this subject, the Archbishop is supposed to have revived the antiquated claims of the English monarchs, not only to the great portion of the French territory which had been actually held by former English sovereigns, but to the crown of France itself; and to have filled the mind of a young and warlike Prince with the desires of military glory and territorial aggrandizement.

It is far more likely, however, that such desires were already germing in the heart of the young King, and that the political necessity of giving active employment abroad to a factious and turbulent nobility which formed the military strength of that day, supported the natural wishes of an ambitious Prince. No moment could have been more favourable for prosecuting such claims upon the throne of France than the period of Henry's accession. The unhappy monarch Charles VI., in a state of mental imbecility, was but a tool in the hands of others. His infamous Queen Isabella of Bavaria laboured to divide and ruin her husband's kingdom, rather than to tranquillize and consolidate it. The Burgundian and Armagnac factions committed every excess unpunished, and tore their native land with continual strife, while the Dauphin, plunged in pleasures and debaucheries, an object of anger to some and contempt to others, abandoned to its fate a country he had not energy to govern.

Henry appears early to have conceived the design of taking advantage of this state of disorganization, and of adding another crown to that which his father had usurped. His first step was to send as ambassadors to the court of France, the Earl of Dorset, Richard Lord Grey, and the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, to require in marriage the daughter of the French King; but together with this pacific proposal was coupled the excessive demand of the Duchies of Acquitaine and Normandy, and the Counties of Ponthieu, Maine, and Anjou. The ambassadors were received by the French monarch during one of the intervals

of his malady, and were splendidly entertained in Paris; but after a short time returned without a satisfactory answer, the French monarch declaring that he would send his own envoys to treat with the King of England.

Henry did not pause for their arrival, but immediately began to concentrate all the forces he could collect upon Southampton, and sent two men of the name of Clitherow and Fleet to Holland, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary shipping to transport his large army to the invasion of France. The news of these preparations hastened the journey of the French ambassadors, and various negociations took place, which of course when one party was determined upon war, did not terminate in peace.

Some authors have asserted that on the first extravagant demands of the English King, the Dauphin, unaware of the change that had taken place in his demeanour since his accession to the throne, sent him over a ton of tennis-balls in contempt; to which Henry replied that he would soon return the present with balls which the gates of Paris would prove too weak as rackets to send back.

This tale is apparently fabulous; for neither do we find it confirmed by the best historians, nor is it rendered more probable by the character of the Dauphin; who was far too debauched himself to presume to sneer at the debaucheries of another Prince. No sooner was the truce at an end which then existed between France and England, than Henry himself proceeded to Southampton to take the command of his army in person. The very night previous to the appointed day of embarkation, however, the monarch discovered a conspiracy amongst his most familiar followers, which caused a temporary delay.

The Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroop, and Sir Thomas Gray were accused of combining to take the King's life, and on being arrested confessed their treason. In regard to the motives which could induce three men of high rank and unblemished character, to undertake the commission of so base a crime against a monarch who loved and trusted them, there seems to be many doubts. A bribe from France, which has been stated as the cause, seems to be totally inadequate to the effect; and it is much more probable that the purpose of elevating to the throne the Earl of March, the true and direct heir of the unhappy Richard II. was that which the conspirators had in view,

as stated by the best French historians. To the Earl of March himself, however, Henry was invariable in his kindness, and even when the conspirators were executed, the confidence of the king in his less happy cousin, does not seem to have been at all shaken.

As soon as justice was done upon the traitors, the English armament put to sea, and notwithstanding great preparations which had been made for defending the French coast, Henry landed his troops in safety at the mouth of the Seine: and immediately laid siege to Harfleur, at that time the principal sea-port of Normandy. His forces are said by Monstrelet to have consisted at this period of six thousand men at arms, or wearing helmets, and twenty-four thousand archers, besides a large and well appointed train of artillery, which was now rapidly coming into use in the operations of a siege.

The operations against Harfleur detained the English monarch for some time, the walls being strong and thick, protected by a deep ditch, and flanked by many towers of considerable size: and during the space thus employed, great efforts were made on the part of the French to repel the invasion of their island enemies.

The Dauphin himself advanced to Vernon on the Seine, and the famous Marshal Boucicault, one of the most celebrated knights of his time, gathered together a large force, and advanced towards the English army. Still it was not judged prudent to attack King Henry in his camp; and Boucicault confined his efforts to cutting off the supplies of the British forces. This proved the more detrimental, as a great part of the provisions brought from England had been spoiled by the sea air, and a severe species of dysentery began to manifest itself in the camp, of which more than two thousand men perished in a few days.

Nevertheless Henry did not suffer his courage to fail, and the siege was continued with unabated vigour. At length the means of defence began to fail within the town. Two wagons of powder, which the French attempted to introduce, fell into the hands of the English; the walls were ruined by the effects of the artillery, and at length the governor agreed to surrender, if he remained unrelieved at the end of three days. The three days expired without succour, and Harfleur was surrendered to the King of England.

The first conquest had already cost the English monarch dear; not so much by the efforts of his enemies as by the pestilence which afflicted his army, and which had already spread to nearly one half of his troops. He seems therefore to have entertained the idea of contenting himself for the time with what he had already acquired; and, after repairing the fortifications of Harfleur, and supplying it with a strong garrison and abundant provisions, he sent back a considerable part of his army under the command of the Duke of Clarence, and with the rest, who were in a more healthy condition, he proceeded to march for Calais.

His forces now amounted only to two thousand men at arms, and thirteen thousand archers, and by proclamations and manifestoes of every kind that could stir up the spirit of a warlike people, the Dauphin and the French Council were striving to raise a sufficient body of forces to cut off the English army on its march. Nor were their efforts unseconded by the nobility of the country. The Duke of Orleans and the Armagnac faction made every exertion in defence of their native land; and though the Duke of Burgundy, who was by this time in treaty with the English Monarch, neglected to send his contingent, and impeded his subjects as far as possible in their attempts to join the defenders of France, the gallant nobility of Burgundy were not to be restrained, and every day flocked to the standard of the Constable d'Albre and the Marshall Boucicault.

Tidings of gathering hosts did not fail to reach the small and weakened English army, and Henry with all speed approached the river Somme, and attempted the passage at the ford of Blanchetache, where his great grandfather King Edward had passed prior to the battle of Crecy. The ford however was already defended by so strong a force, that Henry was obliged to relinquish his design; and ascending the banks of the river he endeavoured to find some other spot where the same precautions had not been taken by the enemy. At every passage however he found them prepared to receive him; the bridges were burned, the fords were guarded or destroyed, and at Abbeville the Constable and Boucicault had already assembled a force infinitely superior to his own. Marching onward however with a bold aspect, the English Monarch still ascended the course of the river, while the French army on the other side followed him step by step. On more than one occasion

Henry paused on his march, in the best position he could find, and seemed to await the attack of the enemy; but no rencontre of any consequence took place between the English and the French armies, though at Corbie, the armed peasantry, headed by some men at arms of that town, engaged the English advanced guard, and were driven with great slaughter to the gates. By this time the principal force of the French had advanced as far as Peronne; and between Corbie and that place the English discovered a ford which had either been neglected or was unknown; over which the army passed the river unopposed.

While these operations were taking place in the field, the Council of the King of France were deliberating upon the question, whether it would be expedient to attack the retreating army of England and risk a general battle, or still to hang upon its rear, and endeavour to destroy it piecemeal in its march towards Calais. The bolder measure was adopted by a large majority of the Council, and it was published throughout France, that all noble and valiant men who sought to acquire glory in the field of battle, should repair immediately to the Constable d'Albre, who proposed to give battle to the English invaders with all speed. Such a summons called immense multitudes into the field, and the hourly increase of the French army threatened but to render the destruction of the English too easy an achievement to redound greatly to the honour of the French knights.

From Mouchy, where the King of England had first paused after the passage of the river, he proceeded to a small town called Maisoncelles, while the French commanders hastened to interpose between him and his native country, and took up their position at Roussauville and Azincourt. The certainty of the most brilliant success animated the hearts of the French, while all that the English could derive from their situation was the courage of despair. About one hundred thousand regular troops, besides a number of irregular partisans, were opposed to the English army, which, when it set out from Harfleur, consisted but of fifteen thousand men, and which, in passing through an inimical country since, had of course found no means of recruiting its forces; while it is but fair to suppose that many men had been lost by weariness, disease, and occasional encounters with the enemy.

Thus the two armies passed the night of Thursday the twenty-fourth of October 1415, at about three bow-shots from each other; lodging principally in the open field. The French spent the time at great fires, surrounding their various banners with much merriment and rejoicing, and, as usual on the eve of a great battle, a number of gentlemen received the honour of knighthood, to prepare them for the following day. The English army generally received the sacrament, and afterwards, it is reported, cheered themselves with the sounds of their musical instruments during the greater part of the night. One of the French historians also relates, as an extraordinary fact, that, notwithstanding the excellent appointments and warlike provision of the French army, there were few if any instruments of music to be found in their host; and he adds, that during that night it was remarked the horses of the French army did not even break the silence as usual by their neighing.

Early in the morning the dispositions for battle were made in both hosts. The French were divided into three large bodies, forming the van, the main, and the rear-guard, and each having its own centre and wings, but it was determined at the same time to await the approach of the English, who must necessarily pass them in the attempt to reach Calais.

Finding that the attack was not made by the enemy as he had expected would be the case, Henry, after having refreshed his soldiers, marched forward to the unequal battle, throwing forward a body of about two hundred archers, who concealed themselves in a meadow not far from the vanguard of the French behind a ditch which defended them from the charge of cavalry. The rest of the army was speedily arranged; the archers being placed in front, and furnished with pointed stakes, which, planted in the ground and shod with iron, formed a rampart against the enemy's men-at-arms. The horse supported the foot, and the wings, we are told by Monstrelet, were mingled archers and cavalry.

The English force now advanced rapidly to the attack of the French army, keeping perfect order, and a bold and determined front, while their adversaries also placed themselves in array, and prepared to win the victory, of which they entertained no doubt. King Henry was now on foot, in the front of his forces, and an oration is attributed to him which, as it was fabricated, beyond all doubt, long after

his death, I shall not here repeat. Sir Thomas of Erpingham, an old and experienced knight, advanced before the rest, and when the whole army had arrived within bow-shot of the enemy, he threw up his warder in the air, which was followed by that tremendous cheer that has in all ages preceded the onset of the British.

The English archers bore no defensive armour in the field of Agincourt, and the steel-clad millions of the French beheld with contempt the handful of half-naked bowmen that advanced against them, few with even a coat upon their shoulders; many bareheaded, and almost all of them, with nothing to defend them but their bow, their sword, or axe. But when they drew their cloth-yard shafts to the head, and the whistling messengers of death flew thick amongst the Gallic horse, the boldest knights were glad to bend their heads to their saddle-bows, to defend their faces from the searching arrows of the English.

The casting up of the warder in the air, and shouts of the advancing army, had been the signal for the concealed archers to open their discharge upon the flank of the cavalry of France, and so fatally true were their arrows, that in a moment a body of eight hundred men-at-arms who had been thrown forward to break the line of the English foot, were themselves cast into terrible confusion, and their horses becoming unmanageable from the galling wounds they received, only a hundred and forty reached the English lines. The rest, driven back in disorder, drove in amongst the vanguard of their own army, carrying fear and disarray along with them; while still the tremendous flight of cloth-yard shafts fell thick among the French, till the whole of the first division of the enemy were in flight and confusion.

At that moment, abandoning their bows, and betaking themselves to their swords, their axes, and their bills, the English archers advanced rapidly to take advantage of the disarray of the enemy. The King, at the head of his men-at-arms, supported them powerfully, and advancing onward with steady determination, the way was cleared to the main body of the French, who found themselves assailed and broken almost before they knew that those who preceded them were defeated. The rearguard of the adverse army, still nearly double in number to the victorious English, fled in a body, with the exception of some of the more renowned leaders, who remained to strike one stroke still

for the honour of France. But at this part of the engagement the news was brought to Henry that a body of French were in his rear, and plundering the baggage of his army. The field was still full of the enemy, a moment's pause would have been sufficient to renew their courage; and imagining that a separate division, instead of a few plunderers, which was really the case, were hanging upon their rear, the king issued an order for every man to despatch his prisoners. This was instantly executed, and a terrible slaughter was the consequence; but the motive for this bloody act was universally known, and, contrary to the custom of adverse nations, was not made the subject of misstatement even by his enemies.

The last effort on the part of the French to turn the fortune of the day was made by the Counts of Marle and Faquembergue, who with six hundred men-at-arms cast themselves into the English lines when the battle was absolutely lost, and were all either slain or made prisoners. The rest of the army fled in every direction, and the remnant of fifteen thousand men which Henry had led to the field, remained upon the plain of Agincourt, the conquerers of nearly ten times their number.

The King of England, when the battle was completely won, and the field clear, rode round the spot over which such a terrible day had passed, and calling to him the Herald of the French Monarch—who either came up after the battle, or in his sacred character had remained behind—he demanded of him to whom, according to his own confession, the victory belonged—to him, or to the King of France? Those who read the history of many battles will see that the question was not a needless one, even on such a field as Agincourt: and to the Heralds of that day belonged the decision of all doubtful points in matters of arms. Mountjoie, King at Arms, instantly replied that the victory was to be attributed, not to the King of France, but the King of England; and Agincourt remains one of the few fields which have been claimed only by the party that won them.

The loss on the two adverse sides was very differently apportioned; that of the English amounting to only sixteen hundred of every grade, whilst the French lost upwards of ten thousand men, of whom more than eight thousand were

of noble birth, and from a hundred to a hundred and twenty whose rank entitled them to display their own banners in the field. Three thousand knights also, we are informed by the journal of a Parisian burgher, fell amongst the French, and the number of prisoners that remained, even after the slaughter of those first captured, was immense.

The fight lasted till near four o'clock in the afternoon; and the weary army of England retired to the same village where it had passed the night before, and spent the evening in thanksgiving and rejoicing. Henry, however, did not attempt, with the small forces which he could still command, to pursue his victory any farther; but, after refreshing his men, followed the course in which the French army had endeavoured to stay him, and marched unopposed to Calais, whence he took ship, and proceeded by Dover to London.

Shortly after his return to England, Henry was visited by Sigismund Emperor of Germany, accompanied by French Ambassadors commissioned to treat for peace under his mediation. But while Henry continued to exact severe terms, the French gave him constant excuses for proceeding in the war, by their efforts to recover Harfleur, which, however, were constantly defeated by the activity of the English Monarch and his officers.

In the meanwhile the Armagnac faction continued to rule at the French Court; and the Duke of Burgundy, in open opposition to the Dauphin and his friends, scrupled little to ravage the territories of his liege lord, or negotiate openly with the enemies of his country. Nor did the death of the young Duke of Acquitaine, at that time Dauphin, in any degree change the aspect of France; for his brother Charles—who succeeded, after the death of another brother—though of a more active disposition and more vigorous frame, was equally unable to repress the factions of the nobles, and equally an object of hatred to the house of Burgundy. That which put the final stroke to the ruin and divisions of France, however, was the infamous dereliction of every principle by the Queen Isabella of Bavaria. Her private vices had long been a scandal to the court, and at length becoming too glaring to be passed over even by her own son, she was removed from Paris to Tours, and there detained in close confinement. It is

not, of course, my purpose to trace all the struggles that ensued between the two factions of France; and it may suffice to say that the Queen, making her situation known to the Duke of Burgundy, was liberated by him, and by her influence obtained for her new ally the greater part of the large cities of France, including the capital. An active war immediately ensued between the Duke and the Dauphin, and about this period Henry King of England once more took the seas with a large army, and landed at a place called Toucque, in Normandy.

To conquer the former patrimony of the British Kings seemed the Monarch's first object, and in a very short time he made himself master of almost all the principal cities of the Duchy. Caen, indeed, resisted with devoted courage, and, after a severe siege, was taken by assault; but the governors of the other fortified places in Normandy, divided between the Armagnac and the Burgundian parties, had no confidence in their soldiers or each other, and one after another submitted to the power of the conqueror. Nor, indeed, did Henry spare any means to obtain his purpose in such a bloodless manner. All his proclamations announced that those who submitted should be safe in person and property; and his address to all the French people holds out to them that prospect of peace and protection which had long been unknown amongst the dissensions of their nobles. The first person of great influence, however, who joined the forces of the English King, was the Duke of Britanny; and, though Henry exacted no very great exertions from his new ally, the example of such a defection from the crown of France was greatly in behalf of the invader. Rouen, the capital of Normandy, however, still resolutely closed her gates against the English.

The attack and capture of the Pont de l'Arche announced to the people of Rouen, and to the King of France, that the war was about to approach the gates of the Norman capital, and every exertion was made, both by the Burgundian faction, who now held the King in their hands, and the burghers of the city itself, to repel the English in the attempt. A number of famous knights and commanders were thrown into the city, which was, besides, garrisoned by upwards of four thousand men-at-arms, and fifteen thousand armed citizens, all eager in the cause. Not a moment

was lost in providing the place with everything necessary to sustain the people during a long siege; and, while the citizens laboured day and night to repair the walls, the gates, and the towers, proclamation was made throughout the town, that every one willing to remain within the walls was to lay in provisions for ten months, and that those who were not able to do so were immediately to quit the city.

A number of the poor, the women and the children, took advantage of this warning, and abandoned the place; but, unfortunately, many who should have done so likewise, remained till the English troops appeared before the town, and escape became impossible. It was in the month of June, before the new corn was ready for the sickle, that Henry laid seige to Rouen, and his preparation at once showed his determination not to abandon the attempt under any circumstances. In the midst of the efforts of the besieged to impede his progress, he stretched his camp around the city, and defended his troops with strong lines, while to cut off the possibility of supplies being thrown into the town by water, he drew two lines of strong chains across the Seine, above and below the spot where Rouen rests upon the river.

Immense efforts were now made by the English to force an entrance, but the defences of the place were so strong, and the defenders so resolute, that no hope appeared of effecting a practicable breach in the walls. Many a sally took place, and many an assault, and many a feat of arms was perfomed between the two armies. But in the meantime the provisions of the people of the town began to decrease, and a smaller and smaller portion of food became the allowance of each day. Reports were spread by the French without, to encourage the besieged and dismay the English, that the King and the Duke of Burgundy, with an immense force, were marching to raise the siege, or to throw provisions into the city; but the King was in a state of imbecility, and the Duke of Burgundy was too eagerly pursuing his hatred towards the Dauphin to bring effectual succour to Rouen. No relief appeared; and, as the winter began to approach, the scarcity within the walls grew more and more terrible. The ordinary food of man failed altogether. Bad water, with a few drops of vinegar to purify it, became the drink of the highest classes. Horse-

flesh was a dainty only to be procured by the rich. Dogs, rats, and mice, were sold at exorbitant prices; and still gaunt famine made rapid progress. All the resources that despair could devise were exhausted one after the other, and it began to be a common tale each morning that two or three had died of hunger in the night. Horror came upon horror. Infants were seen hanging on the cold breasts of dead mothers in the street, and striving to draw the wonted nourishment from the inanimate clay. The soldiers, whose provision had been more carefully hoarded, at length drove out beyond the walls the starving wretches whom they could not support, while the English soldiers drove them back to the gates, in order that they might sooner reduce the city to capitulate. The gates, however, were closed upon them; and several hundreds of these miserable beings were suffered to lie out in the cold of the December nights between the besieged city and the English trenches. Henry, however, more than once took compassion on them and sent them food, but, adhering to the cruel policy of war would not suffer them to pass his camp. At length the inhabitants, by murmurs and threats, compelled the garrison to treat; and, after a long and painful negotiation, Rouen capitulated, upon terms which could hardly be called unfavourable, in the situation to which its defenders were reduced.

The news of the fall of Rouen had the greatest effect on the rest of Normandy, and twenty-seven towns, or castles, immediately made submission to the King of England, without even being summoned to surrender. Nor was this immediate benefit the only advantage which followed from the capture of Rouen. Dismay and doubt spread through all France, and thoughts of peace and concession were entertained by those who had hitherto breathed nothing but war and defiance to the King of England. Henry, on his part, still demanded the hand of the beautiful Catherine of France; and a meeting was agreed upon between the English Monarch and his brothers, on the one part, and the Queen, the Princess, and the Duke of Burgundy, on the other.

The interview was delayed till the middle of April, but it then took place with great splendour in an inclosed field near Meulan. The news of these events reached the Dauphin, and with them brought the certainty of his own

ruin, should the proposed union between the Burgundian faction and the English invaders be carried into effect. In consequence, his first step was to offer peace and amity to the Duke of Burgundy, not, in all probability, that he forgot or forgave the past offences of that proud prince, but because he knew that matters of difference must arise between the English and French crowns, which, if the Duke of Burgundy was confident of treating with himself, would probably break off the negociations, by the refusal of King Henry's demands.

At all events such was the case. The Duke, confident of alliance with the Prince, would not yield to the high demands of the English monarch, and the meeting terminated unsatisfactorily, though with much courtesy on all parts. The war was instantly renewed by the English, and while the Dauphin and the Burgundian leader met and concluded a hollow and heartless peace, Henry, seeing that nothing but activity could accomplish his object against the new combination which was formed to oppose him, hurried rapidly on upon the path of conquest he had opened for himself. Poutoise was almost immediately taken by surprise, Gisors and Chateau Gaillard fell after a short siege, and the terrific news of the advance of the English reached Paris, and induced the King, the Queen, and the Duke of Burgundy to abandon the capital and retire to Troyes.

At this crisis a meeting was proposed between the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin, to consider the final arrangement of all their differences, and the means to be taken against the common enemy. Had good faith been observed, or common honesty, a league might have been formed which would have soon expelled the English from the soil of France; but one of the most nefarious pieces of treachery that was ever practised, resulted from the confidence which the Burgundian Prince placed in the son of his King, and the consequence was, ruin to the kingdom and long misery to the Prince who committed the deed. After some doubts and persuasions the Duke of Burgundy presented himself at Montereau, and met the Dauphin on the bridge which had been appointed for the place of interview; but at the moment he was kneeling to do honour to the son of the monarch, he was killed by some of the companions of the Prince by the blows of battle-axes.

The parties of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs were instantly revived; Philip Count of Charrolois, the only son of the dead Duke, in assuming the honours of his father, inherited a greater share of hatred against the Dauphin than ever that father had displayed, and the first effect of his revenge was the fatal measure of immediate treaty with the English King. During the time spent in negociation, Henry found that the vengeance sworn by the Duke of Burgundy towards the Dauphin, and the hatred borne towards her son by the unnatural Queen of France, would easily, if properly turned to advantage, lead him to the object of his ambition. His Ambassadors, according to the desire of the French court, were instantly sent to Troyes—where the weak King remained under the guidance of his evil wife and her counsellors—and they soon sketched out a treaty by which, on marrying the Princess Catherine, the English monarch should be declared heir to the Crown of France, to the exclusion of the Dauphin and his lineage. This hasty treaty was as hastily ratified, and Henry, with fifteen thousand men departed from Rouen, and marching with all speed to Troyes, put the seal to an arrangement which conveyed to him the throne for which he had fought, by marrying the daughter of the French monarch. To the first articles proposed was now added, at the request of Henry, that the Regency of the kingdom, to the government of which Charles was totally incompetent, should be entrusted to him, and no sooner was the solemnity of his marriage completed, than he instantly took the field against the Dauphin, leading the unhappy King of France and his whole court against the natural heir to the throne. The town of Sens first fell before the arms of England and Burgundy, and immediately after siege was laid to Montereau, where the assassination of John the Bold had been committed.

After a brief siege the town itself was taken by assault, but the garrison, retreating into the castle, declared they would defend themselves to the last. The obstinacy of their resistance irritated the English monarch, and hurried him into a piece of base cruelty which must not be passed over in silence. A number of prisoners had been taken in the assault of the town, and their lives had certainly been spared, at a moment when no quarter was generally

given; but Henry ought to have felt, that the only excuse for the cruelties of a storm is the excessive excitement of the soldiery, and that the lives of prisoners made at such a moment, should be as secure, when the first violence of angry passions has passed away, as those taken under any other circumstances. From those, however, which had now fallen into his hands, he selected twelve, and threatening them with death if they did not succeed, sent them to the Governor to urge the surrender of the citadel. Their prayers were rejected, the castle still held out, and Henry cruelly ordered his unfortunate missives to be hanged within sight of the gate. Not long after, the citadel surrendered, and the English monarch proceeded to the siege of Melun on the Seine, which was at that time strongly fortified, and garrisoned by some of the best troops of the Dauphin's party.

Its resistance was proportioned to its strength, and for eighteen weeks it set the united army of England and Burgundy at defiance. No means, however, were left unemployed by the besiegers to gain the walls, and though the general course of events were as uninteresting as the events of a siege generally are, it may be noticed as a curious trait of the warfare of that day, that in one of the mines, which had been countermined by the besieged, the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy came to close combat with two of the Dauphin's partisans. At length, the want of provisions forced the town to surrender, and articles of capitulation were agreed to, by which the garrison were to be treated as prisoners of war, excepting such as were the bona fide subjects of the King of England, and such as had been accessory to the murder of the Duke of Burgundy. These were reserved for punishment; and after the surrender of the town, the monarchs and their courts proceeded to Paris, where they were received with joy and acclamations. Feasts and splendour, song and rejoicing resounded through the capital; the halls smoked with banquets and the conduits ran with wine, but it was remarked with a sigh, by the more loyal men of France, that their native King sat in solitude and neglect in his palace, while the multitude ran to gaze and shout at the magnificence of the stranger.

Henry also now took upon him the whole executive power of the government. The governors of towns, the

officers of state, the magistrates and the dignitaries, were placed and displaced at his pleasure. The currency of the country was altered at his suggestion, and his counsels swayed everything in France. However, England was still at his heart, and leaving a country that his sword and his policy had conquered, as soon as he could do so with any security, he carried his beautiful bride to be crowned in London.

The moment, however, that his foot was out of France his interests in that country declined; and the rashness of his officers brought confusion and ruin into his affairs. Town after town was taken by the Dauphin; and at length the Duke of Clarence, the English monarch's brother, with all the chivalry that accompanied him, were defeated at Baugy in Anjou, and the Duke himself, as well as three thousand of his men, remained dead upon the field. This news, accompanied by the farther tidings that the Dauphin was advancing to beseige Chartres, called upon the King imperatively to return to France; and leaving the Queen, who was now near her confinement, to follow at a future time, Henry set out for Calais accompanied by four thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers.

His coming gave new courage to the Burgundian faction, and struck fear into the followers of the Dauphin. Scarcely pausing at all in the capital, the English monarch advanced direct towards Chartres, before which the Dauphin had already been encamped three weeks; but long ere the English reached the town the gates were free, and the adverse army with all speed retreated towards Touraine. Thither the English monarch followed, breathing revenge for the death of his brother. Dreux and Beaugeney sur Loire was conquered by the way; but after pursuing the Dauphin ineffectually for some time, the scarcity of provisions obliged him to return towards Normandy. On his march back, he is said to have fallen in with a party of the Armagnac faction, who retreated before him into a castle called Rougemont, which was instantly assailed and taken by the English. All who were within, the French historians assert, to the number of sixty persons, were, by the King's order, drowned in the Loire, a fact which accords too well with the manners of the time and some parts of the monarch's own character.

The town Meaux was the next object of attack, and a

long and courageous defence was made by the Dauphinois within. After Henry had lain a considerable time before the city, an attempt was made by a celebrated knight named Offemont, whom the garrison had invited to command them, to force his way into the town during the night. A ladder had been let down, and the Knight with forty men-at-arms had reached the foot of the walls. One passed after another, but Offemont himself remained below till nearly the whole were in safety. When, at last, he was in the act of mounting, one of the spokes of the ladder unhappily broke under his weight, and he was cast headlong into the ditch below. He was thence drawn out, not by his friends but by his enemies, whom the noise of his fall and the exclamations of his followers brought to the spot; and he remained for some time a prisoner in the hands of the English.

About this time the news was brought to the King of the birth of his son, the unfortunate Henry VI.; and, as soon as possible afterwards, the Queen herself hastened to join him, bringing considerable reinforcements under John Duke of Bedford.

The day after the capture of the Lord of Offemont, the town of Meaux itself was taken by assault, but the besieged retreated into a fortified market-place, where they continued to defend themselves for long. At length, hopeless of aid, and almost at the end of their provisions, they entered into a treaty of capitulation; by which several of their bravest leaders were delivered up to the wrath of the English monarch, who caused them to be put to death.

Against some of these were urged various crimes which rendered them worthy of punishment; but their principal offence was probably their derision of the King, to personate whom, they had at one time brought an ass upon the walls and making it bray, called to the English to come and succour their monarch. One poor man, however, who was afterwards put to death in Paris, we only find charged with blowing a horn for the besieged.

The fall of Meaux, like that of Rouen, brought with it the surrender of an immense number of other places, but this was the last great military undertaking which Henry conducted in person. From Meaux he went direct to Vincennes to meet his Queen, who was at this time on her

journey from Calais, and thence proceeded with the King and Queen of France to Paris, where various transactions took place relative to the internal policy of the country. The court soon removed thence to Senlis, where Henry continued to make his principal abode, till news from the banks of the Loire roused him from inactivity.

The Dauphin, now finding the English monarch removed from his immediate neighbourhood, again advanced with all the forces he could gather, and laid siege to Cône sur Loire, then garrisoned by the troops of Burgundy. The town, hard pressed, was obliged to treat, and agreed to surrender, without the Duke of Burgundy should give battle to the Dauphin in its defence, before the sixteenth day of August ensuing. The tidings were communicated to the Duke by the garrison, and at the same time a herald from the Dauphin defied him to the field the day named. The Duke instantly accepted the challenge, and sent to all his allies, as customary on such occasions, begging their aid and support in the day of battle. Amongst the rest he demanded the assistance of forces from the King of England, to be led by such of his famous leaders as he could well spare. Henry, however, though already unwell, declared that he would send no one to the aid of his good cousin of Burgundy, but go himself, and accordingly commanding his brother the Duke of Bedford as I have mentioned elsewhere, to lead his troops from Paris and that neighbourhood, he himself set out from Senlis on horseback. At Melum, however, his sickness had so far increased, that, no longer able to sit on his horse, he attempted to proceed on a litter, but at length was obliged to turn towards Vincennes, where each day brought him nearer to the tomb.

The Duke of Bedford, as I have noticed in the life of that prince, led the English forces to Cone, from which the Dauphin had already retreated, and the English Prince returned just in time to witness the death of his brother.

Henry already felt his danger, and calling his relations around him, made those dispositions which he thought necessary for securing his dominions to his child. He then insisted upon his physicians informing him how long he had to live, and being told that his life could not last much more than two hours, he prepared to meet death with the same courage which he had evinced during life. After going through all the ceremonial duties of the Catholic re-

ligion, he commanded some particular psalms to be sung in his chamber, and died very nearly at the time his physicians had predicted. The disease, which cut him off in the career of conquest, has not been clearly ascertained; the French declaring it to have been St. Anthony's fire, and the English pleurisy.

Henry V. was a great conqueror, and a wise, prudent, and politic Prince. His two greatest faults seem to have been ambition and cruelty; the first was an inheritance, and the second, perhaps, was less an effect of a harsh nature than of hasty passion. We seldom find that he committed any deliberate act of barbarity, and those things which most stain his name, were generally done under feelings of great irritation. His conduct to the Earl of March, the heir of Richard II, and the respect he paid to the memory of that unhappy King himself, are proofs of a generous nature; and of all his conquests, the greatest he ever achieved was the first—that over himself.

JOHN PLANTAGENET,

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Few memorials exist of the early years of the famous Duke of Bedford; and even the precise time of his birth is not certain. It appears probable, however, from many circumstances, that he was born in 1393. He was the third son of Henry Plantagenet, called Bolingbroke, who wrested the sceptre from the hand of the unhappy Richard II.; and at the period of his father's death had not yet reached twenty years of age. His first remarkable feat of arms was the destruction of the French navy in the mouth of the Seine,* and the relief of Harfleur during the reign of Henry V. some time subsequent to the battle of Azincourt; but his principal military achievements took place after the

* Monstrelet attributes this feat to Thomas Duke of Clarence, his elder brother (Monstrelet, chap. clxvi.), but I am inclined to believe, that Hall, and several other English authors, are right in giving it to the Duke of Bedford.

death of his warlike brother had opened a wider field to the display of his talents for command. During the second invasion of France by Henry V. he remained in England, where he was intrusted with the regency, and conducted himself with wisdom and firmness. On the King's return, his second brother, the Duke of Clarence, was left in command of the army in France; but being shortly after killed by an ambush of the Count de Bosqueax, near Baugy in Anjou, the Duke of Bedford was intrusted to lead the fresh troops which had been levied in England to Calais, and there to wait the arrival of the King himself, who crossed the channel in May 1421; and after pursuing the luckless Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. from province to province and city to city, returned to Paris to spend the winter. Early in the following year, Henry, with the aid of his brother the Duke of Bedford, who had in the meantime made fresh levies in England, applied himself to reduce the whole of the northern part of France; and the Dauphin, finding himself unopposed, collected what troops he could, and laid siege to Cône sur Loire, which agreed to surrender within ten days if not relieved before the expiration of that time.

No sooner did the English monarch hear of this movement, than leaving Senlis with the greater part of his army he advanced by forced marches towards Touraine. His journey, however, was but short; and finding himself so far oppressed with illness as to prevent his riding, he first attempted to accompany the army in a litter, and finally was obliged to entrust the enterprise to the care of Bedford, while he himself returned to Vincennes. The endangered city was speedily relieved by the rapid advance of the Duke, who afterwards hearing that his brother's illness had increased, returned with all speed to Paris, and arrived in time to behold the monarch expire.

According to the last directions of the deceased King, his son Henry VI. was placed under the guardianship of his brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, and Thomas Duke of Exeter. The first of these was named Lord Protector, and undertook the difficult task of governing a turbulent country and guiding an unsettled state. On the Duke of Bedford was conferred the government of France, the prosecution of the war with the Dauphin, the control of all the virulent factions which had torn

the monarchy to pieces, and the retention of a country to which he had no just claim.

The unhappy monarch of the French, who had yielded his power and throne to Henry V. did not long survive his son-in-law, and died on the 22d of October 1422. None of the Princes of his own family followed the body of the Sovereign to the tomb, and the Duke of Bedford alone, the Regent of his kingdom for another King, paid the tribute of respect which was due to the ashes of the dead.

Immediately afterwards, Henry VI. of England, according to the treaty concluded between the infamous Isabella of Bavaria and the infant Monarch's predecessor, was proclaimed King of France; and about the same time the Dauphin, who had been stripped of the greater part of his territories by the unnatural league between the English and his mother, was crowned in Poictiers as Charles VII.

Philip, the good Duke of Burgundy, still maintained his league with England, and prepared to pursue the Armagnac faction, by whom his father had been murdered, with hatred more bitter than ever; and Bedford, thus supported, determined on crushing, as soon as possible, the party of the former Dauphin.

Such was the state of affairs in France at the beginning of that dreadful struggle which deluged one of the fairest countries in Europe with blood; but the conduct of Charles VII. himself, and his abandonment of the interests of his kingdom, tended more to strip him of his power than all the efforts of England, supported by the civil dissensions of his country.

The latter part of the year 1422, and the whole of the year 1423, saw but few military events of great importance, though continual and bloody skirmishes, and the capture and retaking of various towns and castles, kept the country in terror and confusion. These struggles upon the whole tended considerably to the advantage of the English; but nevertheless Bedford, well aware of the insecure tie by which his French partisans were bound to his cause, trusted not alone to arms for success, but strove by every means in his power to strengthen his interest with the greater leaders in France. For this purpose he entered into a solemn treaty and brotherhood of arms with Philip Duke of Burgundy and John Duke of Britanny, the charter of which remains to the present day a curious record of chi-

valrous customs. To corroborate this association, he added a more indissoluble alliance, and led to the altar Anne, sister of the Duke of Burgundy. Still many of the French nobles, who had adhered firmly to Henry V. went over to his rival Charles, as soon as his death and the infancy of his son had rendered it necessary to entrust the power of the state to the hands of a delegate.

The party of Charles thus continued to increase, although success in all the petty encounters which took place about that time, remained with the English. The only one of these encounters indeed which deserved the name of a battle, occurred on the occasion of Crevant being besieged by the Scots and Auvergnats of the party of Charles VII. The Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with Lord Willoughby, were despatched by the Duke of Bedford, on the first news of the danger of Crevant, to aid the Burgundians in raising the siege, when a severe conflict took place, and near three thousand Scots were killed and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The war, however, soon again dwindled into skirmishes, and it was not till the middle of 1424 that sufficient armies could be concentrated by either party to render a general engagement the consequence.

For some time the English forces had besieged the little town and castle of Ivry in Normandy; and the governor was at length brought to treaty, when it was agreed that unless aid arrived within a certain period, the place should be delivered to the assailants. What particular circumstance rendered the town of importance, does not appear; but for the purpose of raising the siege, the Duke of Alençon, the Count of Aumerle, and other partisans of Charles, collected forces amounting to nearly twenty thousand men, and marched with great rapidity upon Ivry. The news of these movements soon reached the ears of the Duke of Bedford; and, gathering together what troops he could, he advanced to oppose the enemy. Though his forces did not amount to ten thousand men, the Duke of Alençon retreated before him, and after making himself master of Verneuil by stratagem, took up his position in the neighbourhood of that place.

After the surrender of Ivry, which took place immediately, Bedford marched on in pursuit of his enemy, whom he found drawn up in one long line to oppose his passage. No avantguard had been formed by the Duke of Alençon;

but a body of two thousand horse had been posted behind a neighbouring wood, in order to fall upon the rear of the English army after the battle had begun. Whether he had discovered the proposed manœuvre of the enemy or not, the Duke of Bedford took the best means to defeat it; and finding that the great mass of his opponents were all on foot, he ordered his men-at-arms to dismount also. The horses were then placed in the rear, and being tied together, formed, with the baggage, a strange sort of fortification, to defend which he left a body of two thousand archers, together with a number of pages and all the camp followers. Both the Duke of Alençon and the Duke of Bedford are said to have addressed their troops in a long speech; but as these orations of leaders on the field of battle are most frequently the result of their biographer's labours in the cabinet, I have not thought necessary to copy those attributed to the two generals on the present occasion.

The battle began with the immemorial English cheer, *duquel s'emerveillèrent moult les Français*, to use the expression of the French historian; and the two parties joined in a bitter and terrible struggle, which lasted three quarters of an hour without any circumstance evincing that victory leaned to one side or the other. In the meanwhile, the French reserve issued from behind the wood; and, as had been concerted, attacked the rear of the English forces; but, opposed by a barrier which they did not expect, and received with a sharp discharge of missiles, they took flight almost immediately, and abandoned the field altogether.

The English archers, now finding themselves free from all attacks, and unwearied by any great exertion, advanced to the support of the main body. This reinforcement completed the advantage which the English were beginning to gain. The French line was broken in several places, and notwithstanding a prolonged and sturdy resistance, the English forcing their way on, rendered the confusion of the enemy irremediable, and drove them at last to complete and tumultuous flight. The battle, however, was not gained without severe loss. Sixteen hundred English fell on the field; but the event was much more fatal to the French. They left five thousand dead behind in their flight, and amongst these were a multitude of their noblest knights and most skilful officers.

The consequences of this victory were of immense im-

portance to the English. The French had no longer any army which could keep the field, and the greater part of Maine and Anjou was speedily conquered. Not without severe struggles, however, were these provinces obtained. Every city, every castle, offered resistance, and required a siege; and, while Charles VII. remained at Poictiers or at Tours, spending his time in dissolute idleness, his nobles by a desultory but obstinate warfare, defended his dominions and delayed the progress of his enemies.

From time to time some slight successes encouraged the efforts of the French. At the siege of Montargis, which was attacked by the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk, the famous Dunois obtained one of his first advantages over the English. By a well-concerted scheme he surprised and burned the camp of the besiegers, slew near fifteen hundred men, and effectually raised the siege. A misunderstanding also, which arose between Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Burgundy, about the sovereignty of Flanders, and which threatened to deprive England of her greatest and best ally in France, raised the spirits of the King's party and encouraged them in resistance. Nevertheless, the wisdom and prudence of the Duke of Bedford averted the danger which menaced his nephew's interest. He positively refused to take part in the quarrel of his brother, and in a journey undertaken to England, for the express purpose, remonstrated strongly with the Duke of Gloucester on the danger and folly of his pretensions. The decision of the Pope came in aid of his arguments, and Humphrey, though with a bad grace, relinquished his claims upon the contested territory.

Still the line of the English possessions was gradually advancing towards Touraine and Berry, and in the month of May 1428, the arrival of the Earl of Salisbury with very considerable reinforcements, enabled the Duke of Bedford to prosecute the war with increased vigour.

His great efforts were instantly directed against Orleans, whose position on the Loire, if obtained, would have afforded him the most immense facilities of carrying on hostilities against the French monarch. The earl of Salisbury was immediately commanded to lead his forces towards that city: and, while Bedford continued in Paris, endeavouring to raise by any means sufficient funds to prosecute his designs with energy, the Earl made himself master of

Jargeaux, Joinville, Meurg, and all the principal places in the neighbourhood of Orleans; and at length laid siege to that town itself.

The chief object of the English movements had been so long apparent, that the party of Charles had found no want of time to prepare for defence. Orleans was thus well provided with everything necessary for a long and steady resistance: the suburbs had been demolished; the country houses round about had been levelled; and nothing had been left which could give shelter to the assailants or cover their attack. A full garrison of the bravest and most expert soldiers in the army of the King, had been thrown into the place; and food, arms, and ammunition of every kind, had been abundantly laid in. In the course of these proceedings twelve churches had been thrown down, and when the English appeared before the place, they found evident proofs of the determination of their adversaries to defend it to the last extremity. Notwithstanding a tremendous fire from the walls, the English approached, and encamped so near as to astonish the French garrison, taking possession of the different ruins which had been left, and throwing up works of earth, which is marked particularly by Monstrelet as a custom at that time peculiar to the people of England. A long bridge, over the Loire, connected the city with the southern bank of the river; and this communication was defended by a strong tall tower, which was the first object of attack on the present occasion. The French who had been thrown into it, resisted the English efforts for some time with great resolution; but were at length forced to yield. The tower and the works by which it was guarded were instantly garrisoned by the English, who now laboured hard to render it available against the city; and Lord Salisbury himself ascended to one of the higher windows to reconnoitre the defences of the town. While in this position, a stone ball from one of the guns, which were now directed upon the tower, entered the very window at which he stood, and striking him on the face, mangled him most dreadfully. Notwithstanding the dreadful nature of his wound he continued to linger for eight days, but at length expired, universally regretted. His death was a severe loss to the English army, as the Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded to the command, was neither equally skilful nor equally beloved.

At the same time an immense change took place in the councils of France. The beautiful Agnes Sorel, whose personal charms had obtained for her immense influence over the mind of Charles VII., seemed suddenly to wake from the voluptuous dream into which she had lulled both herself and him. The danger of a man she loved, the loss of his dominions and reputation, the horrors to which her country was exposed, and her detestation of a foreign domination, woke in her bosom a flame of zeal and patriotism, which soon communicated itself to that of her lover. Her words, her counsels, her schemes, were all warlike; her smile was promised to noble deeds against the enemies of the land; and, for once, the salvation of a kingdom was the work of a monarch's mistress. Charles saw and appreciated the motives of Agnes Sorel, he found also that the moment was come to lose all or win all, and starting from the couch of luxury and sloth, at the voice of her he loved he prepared to put forth all his energies in the struggle for his crown. His first movement was to despatch at once all the forces he could collect to the relief of Orleans; but these consisted of only fifteen hundred men-at-arms; and though led by the Count d'Eu and the famous Dunois, could effect little beyond cutting off the English convoys, and retarding the progress of the siege.

The French were dispirited; and an unsuccessful effort made by Dunois to intercept a large supply sent from Paris to the English camp, which brought on the battle of the Herrings—as it was called from the fish of which the provisions principally consisted—served to lessen their hopes still more. In this battle, the *elite* of their army and of the nobles, were defeated by a very inferior force composed chiefly of commons; and the effect was not only felt in Orleans, but at the court of Charles himself. That monarch had roused himself from apathy, and for a time had made great efforts; but these efforts had tended to nothing but to bring disgrace upon his arms. His troops were defeated, his finances exhausted, the greater part of his country in the hands of the enemy; and depressed by continual misfortune, his expectations and his energies fell together. The whole population of the country around him was in the same state of despondency, except Agnes Sorel, and a small party at the Court who still had hope. The first thing necessary for rendering that hope efficacious, was to

rouse the nation and the monarch from despair; and it really seemed to require something supernatural to procure that result.

At this time it so happened, that an enthusiastic girl, born at Domremy, near Vaucouleurs, in Loraine, with great personal strength and beauty, considerable talents, a superstitious turn of mind, and an inflamed imagination, took it into her head that she was directly inspired by the Deity for the deliverance of France. After considerable difficulties, she made her way to the Court; and her purpose and belief being spread abroad, she was gladly encouraged and assisted by the patriotic few who still resolved to maintain the struggle against England. Agnes and her friends well knew what an immense engine is superstition acting on the public mind, and they gave to Joan of Arc every means of persuading the people of her state of inspiration, and of stimulating her own imagination to greater enthusiasm. Whether the King himself was party to this policy, can hardly now be discovered; but it is very clear, that all the pompous means he took, to satisfy himself, as it appeared, of the truth of Joan of Arc's history, the purity of her person, and the reality of her communication with superior beings, tended most shrewdly to spread her fame and to inflame the public mind in her favour.

Herself fully convinced of the reality of her visions, the Maid of Orleans found little difficulty in convincing others. Armed at all points in the garb of a man, bearing a consecrated banner, and followed by a chosen troop of knights and soldiers, Joan of Arc was permitted to throw herself into Orleans. This she accomplished without loss; carrying with her a large supply of provisions and ammunition. Of course the English and the French accounts differ as to the manner in which the feat was accomplished. The first declare, that these supplies were led into the city during the night and in the midst of a tremendous thunder-storm. The last affirm that she passed within sight of the English works in the open day. As I am not about to write the history of the Maid of Orleans, however, it is sufficient for my purpose to say, that she entered the city; and, having on three several days attacked and defeated the English, in their various works, she forced them to raise the siege with very great loss.

After such successes, extraordinary in any age, even al-

lowing for the new-raised enthusiasm of the French soldiers —no one ever thought in that day of doubting Joan of Arc was inspired by some supernatural power. The only question was, whether the spirit that animated her was good or bad, and each party judged of it as they found it. The French declared that she was sent by God—the English protested that she had leagued with the Devil; but each believed her to possess more than human gifts, and the consequences of this conviction on the minds of both armies tended to the same point. The French were exalted to the skies with triumph and hope; and the English, though not quite abased to the other extreme, lost the confidence of continual victory, and the strength which that confidence afforded.

A multitude of English had perished in the siege of Orleans, and Lord Suffolk divided the remnant of his forces, retreating himself with one part to Jargeau, while the famous Talbot led another division to Meung. Not above four hundred men are said to have accompanied Suffolk to Jargeau; and although the Duke of Bedford made every effort to succour him, the victorious French arrived before the English aid from Paris could approach, and surrounded the city with a force now swelled to nearly eight thousand men. Suffolk, however, resolved to defend the town to the utmost; and with the inconsiderable force he could assemble, underwent a severe assault, resisting the whole power of his adversaries for several hours, till a fourth storming party made their way in by a post which had been neglected, and further resistance became vain.

The greater part of the English were slain, amongst whom was a brother of the Earl of Suffolk. Another brother was taken with that nobleman himself, and they became, with the other survivors, prisoners of war. Beaugeney almost immediately submitted; and Talbot, retiring from Meung, retreated with his small force towards Paris.

In the mean time, the Duke of Bedford strained every nerve to raise money and levy men; but it was in vain. The stream was running against him. Nothing was heard of, through all France, but the prodigies of Joan of Arc. The French ranks increased every day, and no effort could obtain for the English a sufficient number of men to meet the enemy with anything like equality. Some succour,

however, he could not refuse to send to Talbot; and accordingly he drained Paris of the greater part of the troops which were destined at once to defend and overawe it, and despatched them with all speed towards the marches of Orleans.

Scarcely had these troops effected their junction with those of Talbot, when they were attacked by the French army under the Duke of Alençon, near Patay. The strife was very unequal, the French forces being at least three times the number of the English, and animated with the presence of the Maid of Orleans. The English also were taken by surprise; and before the archers could plant their stakes, as was their custom, to defend themselves from the charge of the cavalry, the French men-at-arms were amongst them. At the same time, a sudden panic seized the wing of the army commanded by the gallant Sir John Falstaffe; and, turning their bridles, they fled from the field at full speed, leaving the infantry to be slaughtered by the enemy. Notwithstanding this defection, in the very moment of need, the foot soldiers maintained the fight with desperate valour; and the victory of the French was by no means decided, till Talbot himself fell into their hands severely wounded.

Such continued success inspired the French Court with bold counsels; and, as Joan of Arc still urged the monarch to proceed to Rheims, whither she promised to conduct him in safety and see him crowned, Charles determined to take his fortune at the flood, and venture onward. Collecting, therefore, as strong an army as he could, which far exceeded any that the English could bring against him, he marched forward towards Rheims, making himself master of Auxerre, Troyes, and Chalons, by the way. Rheims, after some hesitation, received the Monarch also; and the extraordinary promise of the Maid of Orleans was verified by his coronation in that city, after having been led by her from victory to victory, from the first day of her appearance in arms, till the hour of his receiving, in the usual place, the crown of the Kings of France.

The tidings of these events came thick and fast to the Duke of Bedford; and every effort in the power of man was made by that Prince, to remedy the disastrous position of the English party in France. The first step was to call to his aid the Duke of Burgundy, who immediately pro-

ceeded to Paris; and, after long deliberations, it was determined that, while the Burgundian faction used every effort to weaken the power of Charles, and to divide his army, the Duke of Bedford should take the field with all the troops he could collect, and force his enemy to a battle. To supply the want of men, which was every day more and more felt, a body of four thousand soldiers, whom the Cardinal Beaufort had collected to lead into Bohemia, were stayed on the way and brought to Paris. This succour enabled the Duke of Bedford to oppose ten thousand to the power of France; and though the French forces were still infinitely superior in number, the most brilliant English victories had been won with far greater disparity, so that he hesitated not at once to seek his adversary. Marching, accordingly, upon Montereau, he approached the hostile army almost immediately after Chateau Thiery had surrendered, and instantly despatched a formal defiance to the King.

Charles boldly bade the herald tell his master that the King of France would seek the Duke of Bedford sooner than the Duke of Bedford would seek him; but the monarch's actions did not correspond with his words on the present occasion. Policy got the better of anger, and he determined not to fight. His affairs were at that moment in a more prosperous condition than they had been for many years; city after city was yielding to him, noble after noble was coming over to his party, and the evident folly of risking all upon one battle, determined him to act solely upon the defensive, wearing out his enemy by marches and skirmishes, and gaining his partisans by promises and negotiations.

On advancing from Montereau the Duke of Bedford soon found that the enemy had marched on; and, following his steps with all speed, came up with him near Senlis. Here Charles paused, and the aspect of the French army, its great numerical superiority, and its resolute halt, convinced the Duke of Bedford that his adversary would give him battle. His dispositions were immediately made, and taking up a strong position with his rear and flanks guarded by thick hedges, he placed the archers in front, each of whom planted his stake in the ground before him, while the cavalry, in one great mass behind, were ready to support the infantry as soon as the battle began.

The French King also made his arrangements as if with the design of fighting, but after two days spent in skirmishes, with the purpose of drawing the English out of their position, the French King withdrew his men during the night and retreated towards Brie. In the meanwhile information was brought to the Duke of Bedford that the Constable de Richemont who had abandoned the English party, was marching in force upon Evreux, and threatened the whole of Normandy. A choice of difficulties was now before him. If he quitted the neighbourhood of Paris, the King was still sufficiently near to overrun the whole country round, and assail the capital: but if he neglected the movements of de Richemont, Normandy, the oldest and best of the English possessions in France, drained of her garrisons and her best soldiers, lay exposed to the march of the French. Although he greatly doubted the faith of the Parisians, he nevertheless determined upon marching towards Rouen, leaving behind him in Paris, a sufficient garrison, commanded by some of his bravest partisans, resolving if that city should fall, to concentrate his forces in Normandy, and defend this province to the last.

No sooner was his march known, than Charles once more advanced; and at his approach almost all the neighbouring cities submitted. Compiègne led the way, and nine others immediately followed; but the possession of the capital was still wanting, and the great importance of that object, caused the monarch to hurry forward without taking advantage of the friendly disposition evinced by many other towns of Picardy and Artois.

At Paris, however, his successes received a check. The Duke of Alençon accompanied by Joan of Arc, began the assault on the gate of St. Honoré; but after a conflict of five hours, the army of the King was totally repulsed, and the Heroine of Orleans, severely wounded, was left for dead in the ditch of the city till night, when she was sought and carried back to the camp. This repulse instantly depressed the spirits of the assailants; and retreating to Senlis, the monarch abandoned the attempt.

At the same time, the Duke of Bedford, whose march had averted the danger from Normandy, returned with all speed towards Paris. Another and stronger motive for haste was now added to those which had before recalled him to the capital. News had reached him that Charles VII. had

sent ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy to negotiate a peace; and that though the Duke still affected attachment to the interest of England, the ambassadors had been favourably received and dismissed with honour. This new source of grief and anxiety seems to have been soon dispelled; for shortly after, we find that the Duke of Burgundy rejoined his brother-in-law in Paris, after having taken measures to maintain some of the wavering provinces in their obedience to the general league. There appears, indeed, some reason to imagine, that in return for his continued support, Philip of Burgundy required that Paris should be put under his government, which was done not long after; but whatever were the motives, the doubts of the Duke of Bedford in regard to the Burgundians were removed for the time; displeasure and division now disappeared from their counsels, and the preparations for the ensuing campaign were such as to threaten the French monarch with a renewal of all those misfortunes which he had formerly undergone. Finding that the hopes of winning Paris, or of negotiating with the Duke of Burgundy, were equally vain, Charles determined once more to turn his steps southward, and, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns he had captured, he retreated with the rest of his army to Touraine.

Early in the ensuing year the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy were prepared to take the field; and proceeded with all speed to reconquer the fortresses which Charles had won in the preceding year. The first of these assailed by the commands of the Duke of Bedford, was Chateau Guillard, whose position, commanding the valley of the Seine, rendered it of immense importance to the free communication between Paris and Rouen. Several months were consumed in the siege of that place; but in the meantime Torcy and Aumarle were taken; and continual but desultory warfare was pursued in the field, which served to waste and destroy the country, without procuring any ultimate benefit to either party. The successes of the English were in some degree balanced by the loss of Louviers, which was taken by assault; but at the same time continual news reached the Duke of Bedford of the progress of the Burgundians, who made themselves masters of Gournay, and Choisy sur Oise.

About this time also, Joan of Arc, whose continual ac-

tivity and enthusiasm were the great support of the French party, accompanied by about four hundred horse, encountered and took the famous Franquet d'Arras; and notwithstanding the absurd praises which have been bestowed upon her by the French, for clemency and humanity, struck off his head in cold blood after the battle.

Her career however was by this time nearly at an end. The Duke of Burgundy had advanced to besiege Compiégne, into which the Maid of Orleans had thrown herself. His troops were scattered through the different villages in the neighbourhood; and before the place was regularly invested, Joan of Arc determined to beat up some of the enemy's quarters in the neighbourhood of Marigny. She accordingly sallied forth, with a considerable force, towards dusk, feeling sure of finding the Burgundians disarmed and unprepared; but it so happened that John of Luxembourgh, with several other commanders, had at that moment visited the quarters at Marigny, for the purpose of reconnoitring the town, and determining the plan of attack.

Finding herself received more warmly than she had anticipated, Joan of Arc endeavoured to lead her troops back to the city. But every moment fresh enemies sprang up upon her path; and fighting boldly in the rear of her flying forces, she was taken along with the principal men-at-arms who accompanied her. The assertion that the gates of the city were treacherously closed upon her, is borne out by no testimony whatever. Monstrelet declares that she was pulled from her horse by an archer, which tallies with the account of St. Remy the Herald. However that might be, she was delivered by the Duke of Burgundy to the English Government, on the payment of her ransom, and carried to Rouen, where an inquisition was summoned to try her for witchcraft and heresy.

Notwithstanding the failure of their first sally, the French continued to defend Compiègne for several months; and at length the arrival of a considerable army to its relief, compelled the Burgundians and English to raise the siege.

It would be impossible, without very long details, to arrange properly all the events of the desultory warfare which now took place throughout France. The parties of the Duke of Bedford made themselves masters of Dammartin, Brie Comte Robert, Quesnoy, Grandpuys, and Rampellon, while the French acquired Melun, Corbie, and

several other places. Both parties, at the same time, endeavoured to strengthen their cause by those adventitious circumstances which, by a general though indirect influence, very often decide the event of great struggles. The French on their part, sought out some one to keep up in the minds of the people the enthusiasm which had been excited by Joan of Arc; and for this purpose pitched upon an unhappy shepherd, who was easily persuaded to affect inspiration. The contrivance, however, was so shallow, that it had no effect. The shepherd in his very first expedition, with a number of knights and eight hundred men-at-arms, was encountered by the Earl of Warwick with an inferior force, defeated, taken, and cruelly drowned in the Seine. For the purpose of giving a new turn to the national feeling in France, which since the death of Henry V. had been decidedly alienated from the English, the Duke of Bedford strongly advised that the young King, then decked with all the heart-winning graces of extreme youth, should be sent over to claim the throne, which by treaty, though not by right was his inheritance. This request was immediately complied with, and in the course of the summer Henry VI. escorted by a considerable force, land at Calais, and proceeded by easy journeys to Rouen.

The good effects which might have accrued from his arrival, were unhappily neutralized by an act of cruelty which about this time was perpetrated; and which will remain to all ages a stain upon the British name. I allude to the trial and execution of the unhappy Maid of Orleans. It would be quite foreign to my subject to enter into all the details of that famous act of barbarity; and it is perhaps only necessary to show that, although after-ages attributed this shameful severity solely to the Duke of Bedford, because he was at that time Regent of France, if he had in reality any share at all in it, which it must be presumed he had, he took as little part therein as any other member of the Royal council, and less than many others not so immediately connected with the administration. No chronicle, French, English, or Burgundian, contemporary, or for a century succeeding, ever accused the Duke of Bedford of taking any active part in the proceedings on that occasion. The trial was conducted by command of the Council of the King, who was then in France; but the active agents who carried the process to its dreadful ter-

mination were two priests, the Bishop of Beauvais and the grand Inquisitor. Nor can there be the least doubt that, though unworthy vengeance might have its part in the death of the Maid of Orleans, religious fanaticism, and the maniac wrath of superstitious zeal, had also a principal share in that disgraceful transaction.

On no motives can the act be defended. If Joan was an imposter, she was still a prisoner of war, the subject of another country, and the accusation under which she was condemned—that of sorcery—was false. If she was but a wild enthusiast, restraint was all that could be legally inflicted on her; and if inspired by any spirit to do the deeds that she had done, it must surely have been the spirit of God which prompted her to free her native land, and to drive forth the usurper. Such acts have often been committed, it is true, in the spirit of that most sacrilegious vanity, religious intolerance; and it is but too probable, that in more instances than that of the persecution of Servetus by Calvin, personal revenge has given point and virulence to the wild fury of bigotry. The case of the Maid of Orleans, however, is singular, inasmuch as the principle which mingled with superstitious fanaticism in the proceedings against her was national, not personal, revenge. The disgrace of this transaction remains upon all those who formed the Council of Henry VI. at that moment; and the Duke of Bedford was of course culpable as a member of that body.

From Rouen, the young King of England was removed to Paris, where he was crowned as monarch of the country he was about to lose; and after a short space of time, during which several sharp discussions arose between the Duke of Bedford and Cardinal Beaufort, Henry was again brought to Rouen, and thence returned to England. A truce of six months had by this time been concluded at the intercession of the Papal Legate; and the Duke of Bedford accompanied his Royal nephew as far as Calais, where evident signs of revolt began to manifest themselves. After having quieted that part of the country, and punished severely several of the conspirators, the Duke turned his steps towards Paris; but a domestic misfortune, destined in its consequences to prove more disastrous to the English power in France, than any military loss, changed his purpose. After the death of Henry V. the shaken alliance be-

tween the Burgundian faction in France and the Government of England had been cemented by the marriage of the Duke of Bedford to the sister of the Duke of Burgundy; and though many motives existed to induce her brother to forget the wrongs which his family had suffered, and to return to his allegiance to his natural Sovereign, the influence of the Duchess of Bedford had been sufficient to keep him the partisan of her husband's administration.

During the absence of Bedford, however, with the young King, the Duchess expired in childbed, and from that moment the attachment of the house of Burgundy to the family of Plantagenet began to decline. At first, no distinct act of hostility announced the Duke's alienation from the English cause, though a growing coolness soon became sufficiently evident. The war, also, against Charles VII. was carried on perhaps with greater spirit by both parties, because it was drawing near its conclusion.

At the same time, a new alliance formed by the Duke of Bedford with the house of Luxembourgh, tended still farther to estrange the Duke of Burgundy, and the very means taken by the Regent to strengthen his party—with the frequent fate of human policy—was the cause of its destruction. English writers affirm, that he was persuaded to contract this new marriage with the daughter of the Count de St. Paul, by Louis of Luxembourgh, Bishop of Terouanne, and uncle to the bride; but certain it is that the step so taken was most ruinous to the English party.

The war, which the truce had but little suspended, was soon openly renewed, and carried on with advantage very nearly equal on either side. Towns were taken and retaken continually, and a thousand skirmishes, in which the English were victors to-day and the French to-morrow, prolonged the war, but tended little towards success.

At length the Duke of Bedford himself determined to lay siege to Lagny sur Marne; and on this occasion the investment of the place was carried on in a much more regular and scientific manner, than we find practised in any of the sieges which preceded it during his administration. A bridge of boats was thrown across the river to facilitate the communication of the assailants on either side; and so strict was the blockade, that for many weeks no provisions of any kind could be thrown into the place. But after a

time the famous Dunois, with all the forces he could collect, marched to the relief of the town; and the Duke eagerly caught at the hope of bringing the French to a battle.

Dunois availed himself of this disposition in his adversary, drew up his men in order of battle, and with his light troops kept up a sharp skirmish with the English, under cover of which he threw sufficient supplies into the town. He then at once withdrew, leaving the Duke of Bedford to find out and regret the error he had committed. The consequences of that error were soon apparent, and so deeply mortified was the Duke with the event, that he was seized with a violent attack of illness from which he never fully recovered.

As the enemy menaced the capital, he was soon obliged to withdraw his troops from the siege of Lagny and march to Paris. After this he had the satisfaction of seeing the famous Talbot, who had been enlarged by exchange, arrive from England with considerable reinforcements: and for a time spread consternation and defeat amongst the French. But this gratification was more than counterbalanced by the defection of the Duke of Burgundy. Several efforts had been made to reconcile him to Bedford; and in one instance they both visited St. Omer for the purpose of conferring with each other; but difficulties and disputes arose even before they met, and though in the same town, they departed without personal communication. Long cares and anxieties of mind had depressed the Duke of Bedford, and the inflammation by which he had been attacked after leaving Lagny, had shaken his corporeal frame. But the negotiations entered into by the Duke of Burgundy and the French King, the hopeless state of the English affairs in France; and the turbulence which was beginning to show itself in every part of the territory under his dominions, overcame him quite; and ended a busy and agitated life at Rouen, on the 14th of September 1435, precisely one week before the definitive treaty of peace was signed between his adversary Charles VII. and his former ally the Duke of Burgundy.

GONZALVES DE CORDOBA,

THE GREAT CAPTAIN.

In the history of the world a stronger example is not to be found of the strange vicissitudes, to which the fates of nations, as well as the fates of men, are subject, than in the case of Spain—a country in whose vast decrepitude we can now no more trace the chivalrous daring of her youth, or the vigorous influence of her prime, than we can call up, in the lean and slippered pantaloon, the lover or the soldier of life's earlier acts.

True, indeed, that a flash of the fire of other days breaks forth from time to time, when the iron hand of oppression strikes too boldly on the petrified hearts of the Iberian people; but the momentary blaze is no longer that which kindled a whole nation, and shed a bright illuminating lustre over a young and admiring world.

Though not flourishing in that early time when chivalry and romance invested the profession of arms with a vague and dream-like splendour; and when the swords of the noblest knights of Europe were drawn to free Spain, their native land, from a foreign and infidel yoke; but still, living in the better days of that fair land, when first consolidated into one monarchy, she took a leading part in all the great events of the world, Gonzalves of Cordoba was called upon to mingle in a torrent of mighty events, and to struggle for greatness with many competitors. He first saw the light in Cordoba, a city of Andalusia, which gave name to his family and to himself; and was born in 1443. He was a younger son, and consequently, though inheriting a noble name—at that time the greatest stimulus to noble actions—he received from his ancestors but little of that worldly wealth, which smoothes the first steps even in the road to glory.

Though the principles on which government was then carried on, of course, greatly affected individuals of high station, it would be tedious and unnecessary here to trace the rise of the feudal system, or to point out the peculiar

characteristics of its developement in Spain. Suffice it that there as well as in other countries, the power of the monarch, though unlimited by precise restriction, extended but little to the internal regulation of his dominions, and that he was rather the head of a powerful confederacy of nobles, than the governor of an united and obedient people. The consequences of such a system, were naturally, a thousand feuds and divisions between the various nobles themselves, oppression of the lower classes, and faction amongst the great.

Nor were these factions encouraged between distinct houses alone. The family of Cordoba, like many others, was divided into two great branches; that of Cabra, and that of Aguilar; and between them existed a jealous competition and an inheritance of hatred, which often troubled the peace of the government, and dyed the streets of the city with kindred blood.

The branch of Aguilar, fertile of great names in all ages, gave birth to Gonzalves, who was the second son of Pedro Hernandez de Cordoba, Lord of Aguilar, by the beautiful Elvira de Herera. His earlier years were spent at Cordoba, under the guidance of his brother, who, though but a few years older than himself, was soon called by the death of their father, to uphold the honour and splendour of their house against all the efforts of the rival faction. It is probable that in this school, the young Gonzalves first learned to combine the idea of honour and distinction with luxury and display, and first put forth and exercised that spirit of chivalrous daring, which well compensated any idle love of pomp.

Of his early education we have no very certain records, but it seems that though military exercises formed a very principal part of his studies, as indeed they did in that of every young noble of the day, yet polite learning and the gentler arts were not neglected by his instructors, and we find that to the graces of his person and conversation, he first owed that distinction at court which afterwards opened the way to his military glory.

At that period, Spain was divided into a number of distinct monarchies, and no probability seemed to exist, that the genius and prudence of one man would soon unite the principal part of them into one great sovereignty, never to be separated again. This, however, was accomplished by

Ferdinand of Arragon: and as the deeds of Gonzalves aided not a little to promote his vast schemes of aggrandizement, it may be as well to trace briefly his first step towards the immense power he afterwards acquired.

Henry, King of Castille, though twice married, remained without any children except one daughter,—Joan, whose legitimacy was more than doubted by the great bulk of the Castilian people. His brother Alphonso, taking advantage of the discontent of the nobles, scrupled not to proclaim Joan illegitimate, and having made the first steps in rebellion against his King with impunity, was easily hurried on by the passions and intrigues of others, to gratify his own ambition by snatching at the crown. Henry, a weak and favourite-governed prince, was generally either hated, or what is still more dangerous to a monarch, despised; and in the civil war which ensued between himself and his brother, he found that even the strong support of possession was hardly sufficient to counterbalance the contempt of his people. Various battles were given with different success, and the balance of fortune seemed to turn rather in favour of Alphonso, when his death, some say by poison, and others by the plague, arrested him in his progress of crime, ambition, and success.

The nobles of Castile, resolved not to recognize Joan, of whose spurious birth they felt assured, now proclaimed Isabella, sister of Henry and Alphonso, the presumptive heir to the crown; and many were the princes of Europe who eagerly contended for her hand.

Isabella's was indeed a hand that many a prince might covet, if the report of contemporary historians may at all be credited. She was beautiful, graceful, modest, prudent; with masculine firmness, tempered by female gentleness; and great conceptions, concealed by unpretending humility. Unfortunately, however, too much reason exists to believe that such qualities in the eyes of princes, form but small portions of a woman's dower; and those who sought Isabella, probably strove far more for the presumed heiress of Castille, than the lovely lady, or the wise princess.

Amongst the aspirants was Ferdinand, son of John King of Arragon, handsome, accomplished, graceful, and engaging; and we may, without doing her wrong, suppose that such a reputation affected Isabella's determination in his favour, as much as the proximity of the dominions he was

to inherit, to those of her ancestors, or the talents and wisdom he had already displayed.

The cold fault of over prudence was in after years conspicuous in the character of Ferdinand; but at the period of his life to which we refer at present, the fire of youth and enterprise still burned brightly in his breast, and no sooner was Isabella's consent signified to him than he set out for Castille, with three horsemen only, to secure the treasure he had won. The heart of a woman already gained, could hardly fail to feel deeply gratified with such ardent haste; and Isabella, within two days after his arrival, bestowed on him secretly the hand she had promised. The anger of Henry at the marriage of his sister without his knowledge or approbation, was of course great, in proportion to his weakness. His death however soon followed; but, as he declared upon his dying bed, with every solemn asseveration which could win credit to his words, that the Princess Joan was truly his child, and as he further made a will declaring her heiress to his whole dominions, Ferdinand and Isabella found themselves obliged to contend in arms, for territories they probably had expected to possess more easily.

Although the majority of the people of Castille were decidedly opposed to the unhappy Princess Joan; and though the infamous conduct of her mother contributed to accredit all reports against her birth, yet her pretensions were strong in themselves, and strongly put; nor did she want partisans, either amongst her countrymen or amongst foreigners. Part of Old Castille declared in her favour; and Alphonso King of Portugal pretended to her hand, and asserted her right in arms.

Ferdinand and Isabella, however, were already in possession of almost all Castille, and perfectly in condition to repel force by force. The court of Isabella, as Queen of Castille and Leon, was established at Segovia, and to this court had been called, at the very commencement of her reign, the young Gonzalves of Cordoba, who by his excellence in all the military games of the day, and the extravagant splendour of his train and appearance, had already acquired the name of "the Prince of Young Men."

In the civil wars between Henry and Alphonso, the family of Aguilar had attached itself strongly to the younger brother; and Gonzalves had been one of the first ornaments

of his court. The reputation that he there acquired is given by the writers of the day, as Isabella's sole motive for endeavouring to attach him to her interests; but it is probable, that in every instance she strove to call around her all the old adherents of Alphonso, and to basis her own party in the state, upon that which he had previously formed. However that may be, it is certain that no sooner was Henry dead, than Gonzalves was summoned to Segovia, and, as we have said, distinguished himself at first only by pomp above his station, and expense beyond his means.

With a fortune less than moderate, his expenditure exceeded those of the richest nobles of the court. Purple and gold, and rare furs, formed his ordinary apparel; and to all remonstrance he replied by prophecies of his future fortune, and praises of splendour, mistaking, as was common in that age, display and pomp for greatness and dignity, and confounding magnificence of appearance with magnanimity of feeling.

These circumstances are curious and remarkable, as the instances are wonderfully rare in history, of persons having wasted, as he did, thought and feeling upon idle show, and yet having possessed the nobler qualities of heart or of head.

Many a man has thus gone on scattering his fortune to the wind, and still looking for some happy blast to blow it back with interest, till all was gone. But Gonzalves was more successful: for though, ere any path to fortune opened before him, he had spent more than his all, and piled a load of debt upon his head; yet, in the end, the means of retrieving came, and he used them to the most extraordinary effect.

The war for the crown offered him the first opportunity of signalizing himself; and here he showed on every occasion, that the handsome person which he was so studious to ornament, he was but little careful to protect. No skirmish, no attack, no battle, was without his presence; and the noble figure and splendid arms of Gonzalves de Cordoba Aguilar, were ever seen where the resistance was great, and the danger imminent. It is reported, that after the battle of Toro, in which the Portuguese were completely defeated, the Duke of Cardona, under whom Gonzalves served at the time, called the young here to his

presence, and thanked him publicly for his services during the day; observing at the same time, that he had traced the splendid arms which he bore throughout the battle, and had always found them where the fight most raged, and blood flowed fastest.

It was not alone at Toro that the Portuguese were defeated: for though carrying on the war with spirit, and in some instances with success, they lost ground upon the whole: and had also the mortification of finding that all hope of establishing a powerful party in Castille became less and less plausible each day.

At length Joan herself, wearied with causing her fellow-creature's blood to flow, and despairing of ultimate success, sought peace in a monastery, and resigned the thorny honours to which she had aspired. Ferdinand and Isabella found themselves securely seated on the throne of Castille; and, in a brief space, the crown of Arragon also was placed on their brows. All Spain, except the narrow portion of Navarre, and the Moorish kingdom of Grenada, was now under their dominion; and ambition having once held its magic glass to their eyes, wide prospects of aggrandizement and power spread out before them in the distance.

Nearly eight centuries had passed since the Saracens first established themselves in Spain, and after various vicissitudes, having been a thousand times the conquerors and the conquered, they were now reduced within the limits of the small but beautiful kingdom of Grenada, situated on the sea coast between Murcia and Andalusia. Many a bard, in many a language, has sung the beauty of its valleys, the sweet fertility of its soil, and the splendid purity of its air; and the Moors who inhabited it, were attached to it with all the love which an imaginative and ardent people feel towards lovely scenes bound to their hearts by the indestructible associations of infancy, the memories of home, and the records of patrimonial glory. How such a people would fight for such a land, was, of course, a necessary part of the calculation to be entered into, before endeavouring to dispossess them; and for some time Ferdinand hesitated to attack them, though little doubt can exist that he meditated from the first adding Grenada to Castille. At length, however, an aggression on their part, offered a fair excuse; and political divisions amongst

themselves afforded a good opportunity. The interest of religion yielded both an excitement to zeal and a cloak to ambition: and the war against the Moors was undertaken more as an enthusiastic crusade than as a politic invasion.

The resistance of the Moors was palsied by the unwise dissensions of their chiefs. The weakness of Boabdil, the king, and the ambition of Al Zagal his uncle, were equally disastrous to the country they struggled to govern. The capital city itself was divided between the two factions, each holding armed possession of the portion it had obtained; and while the one thought of nothing but destroying its rival, the politic enemy of both advanced steadily to his object. Mutual danger itself did not serve to awaken them fully from the blind stupor of mutual hatred, and an empire was lost to their race for ever, while they contended for its government from day to day.

One of the most elegant writers that ever honoured any language, having lately given a history of the fall of Grenada, and his book being in the library of every one, it is unnecessary here to enter into the details of Ferdinand's successful invasion any farther than the exploits of Gonzalves de Corloba are immediately concerned.

At the siege of Tagara we first find him commanding in any affair of importance, and as he here displayed in a striking manner those qualities which afterwards so highly distinguished him, I shall pause to enter into fuller details than I shall often permit myself hereafter.

As a town Tagara was by no means strong, but its citadel, both from its position and its fortification, had hitherto been judged almost impregnable; and being situated between Alhama and Loxa, the one already in the hands of Ferdinand, and the other besieged by his army, its possession became an object of great importance to the invading army.

Pressed vigorously by the Spanish forces, the Moorish garrison of Tagara soon found it necessary to abandon the town, and throw themselves into the citadel; but here trusting to their high rock and to ample stores, they set the army of Ferdinand at defiance.

In the Spanish council, opinions were much divided, as to whether it would be wiser to prosecute the siege of a place which possessed so many means of defending itself, and of harassing the attacking force; or to leave it, and

proceed to some other object, where the fruits of success would be greater to compensate the risk of the endeavour. It was, however, at length determined to cut off all supplies, leaving time and famine to do the work of war: and, at his own earnest entreaty, the charge of reducing the citadel was entrusted to Gonzalves de Cordoba. The method he took to effect his object, was perhaps not precisely that contemplated by those he served; but success justified him, and what would have been his fault had he failed, now became his glory.

The principal objection to proceeding more rapidly against the citadel had been the difficulty of all approach. The fortress itself stood detached; the ground round about was rocky and impenetrable; no trench could be opened, and no earth could be found to fill the gabions, so that the Spanish troops who attempted to advance were exposed to a shower of arrows, from which there was no possibility of escape. No sooner, however, was the reduction of the place entrusted to Gonzalves, than he caused the troops to carry off all the doors of the houses in the town, and of these he constructed an immense number of mantlets, or large wooden shields, under cover of each of which five or six soldiers could march forward in comparative safety.

To give these additional thickness, so as to deaden the missiles of the enemy, without increasing the weight of the mantlet, he seized a large quantity of bee-hives made of the bark of the cork tree, with which that country abounds, and lined his portable defences with the materials. This being done, advance was no longer difficult; and putting himself at their head he led his soldiers to the attack. The Moors defended themselves for some time with great resolution, but at length intimidated by the boldness and obstinacy of their assailants, they offered to capitulate. In negotiating with the governor, Gonzalves evinced as much keen sagacity, as he had before shown military skill in availing himself of the means of attack which had escaped much older officers than himself. A treaty was concluded between them, in which the interest of Ferdinand was certainly far more considered than that of the Moors; and the governor returned to the citadel to announce the conditions to the garrison. The terms, however, were too hard to be accepted by brave men, whose defences were yet in their own hands, and who had still the same means of re-

sistance with which they first undertook to hold out the place. The capitulation was immediately refused by the garrison, and the attack recommenced with redoubled fury. The reputation of Gozalves for ever, was at stake, and leading his soldiers again and again to the assault, he ceased not for a moment till the walls were carried, and the Castillians entered the citadel pell-mell with the Moors. As in the case of all fortresses taken by storm, the principal part of the garrison were put to the sword. Those that escaped were reserved for a worse fate,—eternal slavery, after witnessing the citadel they had defended rased to the ground, and the homes for which they had fought consumed to ashes.

The star of Gonzalves' military fame was now in the ascendant, and the siege of Ilora was almost immediately entrusted to his skill. Success followed him, and after a vigorous and rapid attack, he entered into negotiations with the Governor for the capitulation of the place. The terms that he offered were probably favourable, for little difficulty seems to have been raised on the part of the Moors on this occasion, but it is still more certain that they were highly advantageous to Spain, as Ferdinand confirmed them without a moment's hesitation, and bestowed on him immediately the government of the city he had captured.

Gonzalves instantly took possession of the place with a strong garrison; and now the daring activity of his genius displayed itself in its true light. Ilora was situated but a few leagues from the city of Grenada itself, and from the moment that Gonzalves had once established himself within its walls, the Moors were never one day without hearing some news of their dangerous and indefatigable neighbour. The necessary provisions could scarcely be brought from the adjacent country towards the capital, without falling into his hands. A detachment could not leave the gates without being attacked and defeated; the neighbourhood was swept of its produce; the towns and villages round about were laid in ashes; the mills destroyed, the bridges broken, and even the gates of Grenada itself, assailed and burned, while its warlike population remained immoveable within its walls, in doubt and astonishment, never believing that any one would dare to present himself so boldly, without having secret assurance of traitorous support from within.

By such exploits as these, Gonzalves first acquired from the Moors the title of The Great Captain, to distinguish him from the rest of the Spanish officers, possessed possibly of equal courage, but less activity and daring than himself.

Success now followed success, and fortress after fortress fell into his hands, till scarcely a strong place between Ilora and Grenada remained in possession of the Moors. Nor did he meet with opposition or obstruction from the various Spanish officers who commanded in other cities lately fallen into the hands of Spain, though in most instances they were older in service, and superior in military rank to himself. The genius of Gonzalves was that of commanding kind sometimes, but seldom seen, which convinces without argument, leads without persuasion, and which men seem intuitively to obey. Thus, without the right of commanding, he directed almost all the operations in the immediate neighbourhood of Grenada, till the arrival of Ferdinand himself, with larger forces, reduced the whole country round to the dominion of Spain, and placed the city itself in a state of siege.

Long before this time the internal divisions amongst the Moors had rendered Grenada, as I have already said, the scene of many bloody contests, and Boabdil had even entered into a truce with Spain, for the purpose of putting down the faction of his uncle. Gonzalves had been fixed upon as the negotiator of this treaty—had entered into Grenada with large forces, and, after having nearly destroyed the party of Al Zagal, had, with honourable fidelity, withdrawn his troops at the first desire of Boabdil. His reputation, therefore, amongst the Moors, was fully as brilliant as it was in the eyes of his own countrymen; and happily it was not alone the reputation of courage or of skill, but also the reputation of unswerving integrity. Thus, when, after a long protracted siege, Grenada could no longer be held out, and Boabdil found it necessary to resign the power and the kingdom which his own weakness had suffered to crumble from his grasp, Gonzalves, we are told, was the person to whom he first applied to negotiate the terms on which the fallen monarch would yield his last hold on the sceptre of his ancestors. Always fearless of his own person, Gonzalves ventured himself almost alone

into the heart of the Moorish city, at the request of Boabdil, and there arranged the terms of capitulation.

The first operation of great success upon the heart of man, is not unfrequently productive of that sort of expansion of feeling, which brings about for the time all the effects of generosity of spirits, in minds to which generosity is habitually a stranger. Whether this was the case with Ferdinand on the capitulation of Grenada, or whether his heart had not yet been contracted and stiffened by the petrifying torrent of prosperous ambition, which afterwards taught him to exact all and to grant little, may be matter of doubt. He consented, however, through the mediation of Gonzalves, to such terms with the unhappy monarch of the Moors, as to win for him a reputation of magnanimity of which on many other occasions he evinced but little.

Grenada surrendered, Boabdil retired to Almeria, Ferdinand and Isabella entered the city with cross and spear, and the dominion of the Saracens ended in Spain for ever.

It appears that some time previous to the fall of Grenada, though the precise period is neither important nor ascertainable, Gonzalves had taken to wife the daughter of a family equally noble and ostentatious with his own. An anecdote, however, is related of him about this time, which shows that he knew how to turn the taste for splendour in which his house were wont to indulge, to most courtier-like account. Isabella of Castille on almost all occasions followed her husband Ferdinand to the field, and failed not to be present at the siege of Grenada, the consummation of a crusade, instigated, as some writers assert, by herself. Though sleeping, like the rest of the army, in the field, yet royal magnificence followed the Queen into the camp; and her tent, fitted up with all the wealth and luxury of a court, wanted little of a palace but the name.

A short time before the capitulation of the city, an accidental spark set fire to the combustible materials of the Queen's pavilion; and in an instant, not only the whole of its gorgeous furniture, but also the entire wardrobe of the Princess, was destroyed; and she herself forced to fly from the flames, in very unceremonious disarray.

The wife of Gonzalves had been left at Ilora, the seat of her husband's government, which, as we have previously stated, was situated at a short distance from the gates of

Grenada; and Gonzalves, on the first news of the accident, instantly despatched messengers thither in order to repair the Queen's loss, as far as his means would permit. His household was by no means found unprepared; and before the year was a day older, the Queen was surprised to see all that she had lost replaced with a magnificence only so far inferior as to free the tribute of respect from all suspicion of rivalry.

Such attentions are never without their effect on the heart of a woman, though that woman be a queen, and a great one: and happy it is for a nation, when the man who knows how to time them well to his sovereign, merits her esteem as much as Gonzalves de Cordoba.

All that Isabella said, in return for the present of Gonzalves, was, "It must have been a most malicious fire last night, Señor, since after burning down my pavilion, it went on to ravage thus your lady's wardrobe;" but the fortune of Gonzalves was made. There are many men who can compel esteem, or win love, or command admiration; but it is the meed of few to unite the graces that attract, with both the qualities that attach, and the talents that command. Such however was the case with Gonzalves of Cordoba, if we are to believe the writers of the time; and there are many concurrent circumstances which give evidence in favour of their statements. It is true that most of those who have written the life of the Great Captain, have left us a panegyric instead of a biography; but we find his talents proved both by the success of his arms, and the success of his negotiations. The graces of his person, and the urbanity of his manners, we may infer from the favour of Ferdinand and Isabella, the duration of which, also shows it to have been based upon something more solid than caprice. Nor can the extravagance of the praises bestowed upon his merits render them doubtful in any degree, when we find the extravagance common to many, and the merits allowed by all. The tongue of scandal, of course, attributed the extreme regard evinced towards him by the Queen to warmer feelings than those of simple esteem; but as this belief tended to gratify two of the most ordinary bad passions in human nature, envy and malice, the one by detracting from the merits of Gonzalves, the other by blackening the character of the Queen, we may reasonably look upon the report, in the absence

of all proof, as the offspring of that commonplace malignity, which loves to stain all that is purer than itself.

However that may be, a new and vast theatre was about to open before Gonzalves; and to afford a wider scene for the display of his splendid talents. Several of those many unforeseen contingencies which always sooner or later render treaties of no avail, had called up that separation of interest between France and Spain which rendered war inevitable. The scene preparing for hostilities was that devoted country, which seems in a former age to have got drunk with glory, that in this she might experience all the consequent debility—Italy.

Charles VIII. of France had easily found to the kingdom of Naples one of the many claims which ambition has always ready prepared to justify great robberies. He had collected his army, marched in triumph through the Italian states, taken possession of Naples, conquered sufficient obstacles to elate his pride to the highest pitch, and assumed the vain title of Emperor and Augustus, and then found his retreat cut off by a confederacy of princes, enraged at his arrogance and alarmed by his success. Charles however marched undauntedly to meet their army, commanded by the Marquis of Mantua. It was nearly five times stronger than his own, and well posted in such a position as to obstruct entirely his passage towards France. With that boldness which is sometimes temerity, sometimes valour, and is generally judged, though often falsely, by the event, Charles resolved to force his passage, and not only succeeded, but completely defeated the enemy's forces. Having thus closed a short campaign of five months, in which triumph had been continual, by an unequal strife and a splendid victory, he returned to France, leaving sufficient forces at Naples to render his conquest as he thought secure.

The niece of Ferdinand King of Spain, however, had been married some short time before to Ferdinand the younger, King of Naples, whom Charles VIII. had dispossessed; and the sovereign of Castille and Arragon declared himself bound to maintain the quarrel of his relation. Whether Ferdinand was originally influenced by motives of family attachment, or whether ambition was the primary and sole motive for his rupture with France, can hardly be discovered; but soon after the conquest of Naples by that power, he sent an ambassador to the court of Charles to

demand immediate restitution of the dominions he had usurped, and to declare war in case of a refusal.

War was of course preferred, and Ferdinand having prepared a fleet at Carthagena, embarked a small but well disciplined army, the command of which was given, at the express request of Isabella, to Gonzalves de Cordoba. Gonzalves landed his army safely at Messina, and was immediately surrounded by the Princes of the deposed family, who had taken refuge in Sicily. The first care of the Spanish general was to investigate with the keenest acumen the state in which Charles had left the kingdom of Naples; and having satisfied himself on all points, increased his army by all the troops he could raise in Sicily, and determined the line of conduct it was necessary to pursue, he called the King of Naples and his supporters to a council, rather for the purpose of persuading them to acquiesce in his designs than of demanding their opinions.

It was proposed by some, that the Spanish and Sicilian armies being inferior in number to the French troops left in possession of Naples, and the inhabitants of that kingdom also having already sufficiently marked their disaffection to Ferdinand, by delivering up city after city to his enemies, without drawing a sword or shedding a drop of blood in defence of their country—it was proposed that the Spanish and Sicilian armies should content themselves for the time with keeping possession of Sicily, till their prospect of success should be brightened by some increase of power. The very first speech of Gonzalves, however, decided the question in the minds of all. He declared that it was his purpose to reconquer the whole of Naples. He showed that the greater part of the cities in that country had been left without garrisons, that the fortresses were unfurnished with provisions, that the troops were insubordinate and discontented for want of pay; Charles, he said, had been successful, but he did not know how to profit by success. He had conquered Naples, it was true, but he had taken no measure to guard his conquest. He had degraded and pillaged the chief people of the country; he had wasted even the stores and ammunition he had found prepared; he had disappointed the expectations and excited the hatred of the Neapolitans, and he had left the French without order, without supplies, and without defence.

It was for them, Gonzalves said, to profit by the faults of the French monarch, to seize the moment before those faults were remedied—to land in Naples—to court the affections of the people, to strike boldly at their invaders, and to struggle nobly for the recovery of their rights. Success, he said, was not so difficult as it seemed; but, even should misfortune await them, they could but return by the ports he would take care to secure in the first place, and then, with the consciousness of having attempted great deeds, wait better fortune in Sicily, more confident in their own tried strength, and more formidable to their enemies.

No opposition was made: the troops were embarked at Messina, and landed without difficulty at Reggio, the inhabitants of which town immediately took arms in favour of Ferdinand, and forced the French garrison to seek refuge in one of the fortresses. Aware of the importance of a first stroke, Gonzalves immediately attacked the fortress with that active vigour which he displayed on every occasion.

After having defended themselves for some time, the garrison declared their intention of capitulating, and demanded a truce of seven days, urging that they could not honourably surrender without an order from the Commander-in-chief of Calabria. The pretence seemed to Gonzalves so shallow, that at first he refused to grant their demand, and it was only at the solicitations of the Sicilians who accompanied him, that he at last consented. His conduct in regard to this truce has been severely censured by some, and boldly defended by others, and therefore it is necessary to pause for a moment at this part of his history. The account of this siege, as given by his enemies, is, that he granted the garrison a truce; and before it had expired attacked them within their walls, and put the greater part of them to the sword. But other writers state, and bring good proof in confirmation, that before the second day of the truce had expired, Gonzalves found that he had been deceived by the French garrison; that their time, instead of dreaming of capitulation, was employed in constructing interior fortifications, and that they had sent through the whole country demanding succour, and giving information of his arrival, rather than asking the permission of any one to surrender. Still Gonzalves, they declare, jealous of his high honour, would not turn their treachery against them-

selves, until, insolent in their security, they themselves broke the truce, by firing several volleys upon a body of Spaniards, that imprudently showed themselves in an undefended position.

It is one of the simplest principles of all rational law, that no engagement can be binding on one party which has been broken by the other; and therefore, if the statement of his friends be true, Gonzalves was justified in considering the truce at an end as soon as he discovered absolutely that it had been turned to the purposes of fraud. The violence offered by the French also completely exculpated him, if the same statement be correct, and that it is so can hardly be doubted by any one who considers the life of Gonzalves as a whole. Could the man whose honour was so undoubted that Boabdil the King of Grenada admitted him with his whole forces into the heart of his city, and who retired at that monarch's first request—though oaths to an infidel would soon have met with absolution, and the breach of them with high applause—though power, wealth, and glory would have gilded the treachery, and ambition would have smiled on him for ever—could the man by whom such objects were never felt even as temptations, sully a bright name—and sully it but once to gain a petty fortress for a stranger? I do not believe that human nature, with all its inconsistencies, is capable of having produced so mad a miracle! Had the object been one of great importance to his own sovereign, and had the expressed orders of that sovereign instigated him to break the treaty, by what was in that age considered a paramount duty—obedience to his King; it may be reasonably believed from various after actions, that Gonzalves would have infringed his engagement with the besieged, rather than have violated his oath of implicit submission to the commands of the monarch. Where no such plea existed, however, we never find that Gonzalves neglected to perform his promise as an individual; and certainly had he done so, it would not have been for a petty fortress that could make no prolonged or effectual resistance.

No sooner had the French permitted themselves thus openly to infringe the truce, than Gonzalves ordered a general attack, which was successful in several points. The walls were almost immediately taken, and the internal defences which the French were found in the act of construct-

ing, served them but litttle against the fury of the Spaniards.

Several other successes followed, and Gonzalves led Ferdinand on triumphantly towards the heart of his kingdom. A severe reverse awaited them, however, at a tower called Seminara, before they had proceeded far on their victorious march. The city itself had surrendered upon their approach, and the burgesses had driven out the French garrison by one gate, while they admitted the Spaniards and Sicilians by the other. But the news of their approach had spread through the country, and the rumour of their rapid progress aroused at once the French from their inactivity. D'Aubigny, to whom had been entrusted the government of Calabria, lost no time in collecting as strong a body of troops as he could; and, feeling the necessity of prompt and decisive measures against an enemy so vigilant and active as Gonzalves had proved himself, he marched directly to meet the army of Ferdinand, which he came up with at Seminara.

His forces were much inferior in number to the Spanish and Sicilian troops, but they were far better disciplined, and Gonzalves, feeling the greatness of the stake for which they played, strongly counselled Ferdinand to remain within the walls of the town, and refrain from meeting the enemy in battle. He represented that on the greater part of their troops they could not rely, while the French were sure, bold, and veteran. He pointed out how ruinous a defeat would prove to their army, and how discouraging to their partisans throughout the country, and he strongly advised him carefully to guard what he had boldly won, and to let the impatent spirit of the French nation weary itself in inaction, till their very impetuosity afforded some opportunity of taking them at a disadvantage.

His counsel, however, was rejected. Ferdinand, elated with success, and confident of victory, descended from the heights of Seminara and met D'Aubigny in the plain. In less than an hour his cavalry was dispersed, his infantry defeated, and though Gonzalves did all that human prudence could do, to ensure his safety, yet Ferdinand himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy, and reached the walls of Seminara covered with shame and disappointment. A prompt retreat necessarily followed, and it was probably only

owing to the sudden illness of D'Aubigny, that the Spanish army did not find itself invested in Seminara. The French commander, however, overpowered with lassitude and illness, could not press his victory to the utmost extent of success. Gonzalves and Ferdinand retired to Reggio; and soon found that the capricious smile of fortune was not irretrievably lost to their arms.

The people of Naples, fatigued with the exactions and arrogance of the French, resolved to cast off the yoke to which they had at first so willingly submitted, and to recall the monarch from whose authority they had withdrawn. Ferdinand received private notice of their intentions in his favour, and a promise that as soon as he should appear with a fleet in the bay of Naples, the citizens should immediately declare in his favour, and expel the French from the town.

Among all the baubles of fortune there is none that the great children of the earth catch at with so much blind eagerness as power, notwithstanding all its intrinsic uncertainty and its host of concomitant cares. Ferdinand instantly prepared to grasp the offer of the Neapolitans. Leaving Gonzalves in Reggio, he made what head he could in Sicily, had recourse to prayer, supplication, promises, and force, to collect together a fleet; and, in a very short space, appeared before Naples with eighty sail of transports.

To his surprise, however, all was tranquil in the city, the French in undisturbed possession, and not the least sign of tumult or revolt. Cursing his folly in trusting to a fickle people who had before so grossly deceived him, the dethroned monarch turned away from the shore, and prepared to retrace his course to Sicily.

Scarcely however was he out of the bay, when the fleet was joined by a felucca, despatched by the principal people of Naples to assure him of their fidelity, and to promise that if he would but disembark a sufficient number of men to draw the Count de Montpensier, the French viceroy, from the walls, they would take advantage of that nobleman's absence to secure possession of the city.

Fortunately for Ferdinand he once more confided in the Neapolitans, and resolved to hazard the attempt. Sixteen hundred men were accordingly landed at a short distance from Naples, and by skilful manœuvres, not only drew the

Count de Montpensier, with the principal part of his forces, out of the city, but engaged him so long, that the French troops he left within the walls, anxious for his safety, sallied forth, notwithstanding the express commands he had given them to the contrary; and Naples was left entirely in the hands of the malcontents. The people immediately rose; the gates were shut upon the French; and Montpensier, finding his error, hastened to effect his retreat into the castle, where he contrived to defend himself for more than three months, though no earthly provision had been made on the part of France against so unexpected a disaster. In this imminent danger Montpensier summoned all the French troops in the south of Italy to his aid. D'Aubigny still suffering from illness, could not quit Calabria, but he immediately despatched a strong reinforcement to the Viceroy, which attempted to force its way to Naples, and twice defeated the troops of Ferdinand opposed to it. The obstacles, however, were too great. Famine began to show itself in the garrison, and Montpensier was fain by stratagem to effect his escape by night, and retired to Salernum, leaving Naples completely in the hands of Ferdinand.

In the meanwhile, Gonzalves of Cordoba was not inactive. He marked the moment that d'Aubigny weakened his forces to succour the Count de Montpensier and he seized it with the eagerness of one who knows that the eyes of a suspicious and unconfiding master are upon him, ready ever to attribute misfortune to incapacity. The troops of Spain had been defeated at Seminara, and Gonzalves, the moment he could do so with prudence, issued forth from Reggio to wipe out the disgrace of having failed even in an attempt he had deprecated, by the most brilliant success in a campaign left to the guidance of his own judgment.

Seminara was immediately retaken. Teranuova, Nicastro, and Crotona followed; and, in an amazingly short time, he had extended his conquests to the coast of the Ionian sea. At Nicastra, however, he received notice that Ferdinand held the Count de Montpensier besieged in Atello, and beseeched his immediate aid to bring the siege to a fortunate and speedy conclusion. Gonzalves had laid out other plans; the complete conquest of Calabria was before him; and an infinitely greater share of individual glory was to be won by pursuing his first design, than by joining

Ferdinand and involving himself in enterprises, the conduct of which he could not command, and where the honour of success was to be divided with another, though the responsibility of failure fell heavily on himself. Notwithstanding these considerations, Gonzalves determined upon joining Ferdinand—in this instance, as in every other, sacrificing his own private views to the grand object of the cause he had undertaken.

His march, however, to form a junction with the young king, proved to the full as glorious as even the conquest of Calabria could have been. Either by force, by opinion, or by fear, one town after another submitted to him. The French were defeated wherever they opposed him, and indeed so quick were his combinations, and so rapid were his movements, that opposition had but little time to prepare itself; and, though the army nobly seconded his efforts, the glory acquired rested far more with the skill of the general than with the courage of the soldiers. The forest of Morano indeed, through which he was obliged to pass from Castrovillare, has been filled with a large body of armed peasantry, attached to the interest of the French; and had Gonzalves taken the narrow encumbered road, at that time the only way by which it could be traversed, his army must have infallibly perished by the many ambuscades with which his path was surrounded.

Information of this stratagem, however, had by some means been conveyed to him; and, practicing with his army an operation common in Spanish hunting parties, he divided his infantry into three bodies, caused them to extend themselves round the forest as far as possible, and then, with a certain order, and concerted signals, to close in gradually towards one common centre; thus enveloping the enemy as in a net. The success of this scheme was infinite. Attacked from a quarter they did not expect, the peasantry armed for his destruction were themselves almost all taken or killed; and the consternation caused by this bold manœuvre was so great in Morano, that the town opened its gates to him without striking a stroke.

A similar stratagem put him in possession of Laine; the French garrison of which, secure in its strong position, had taken but little care to watch against the approach of an enemy. The attack was made at night, and so well had Gonzalves concerted his measures, and so badly had the

French prepared for resistance, that before the garrison were even aware of their coming, the Spanish army were in possession of the town and the bridge. The citadel also, but little provided for defence, surrendered almost immediately; and Gonzalves pursued his way in triumph to the camp of Ferdinand.

By this time the confederates, who, as I before stated, had been defeated by Charles VIII. of France, in his retreat from Naples, had again made head, and had joined the King of Naples before the walls of Atella.

Gonzalves, therefore, found that city completely invested; but though the Count of Montpensier was surrounded on all sides, and but little hope of any succour from France could be entertained by himself or his troops, he still maintained the most vigorous resistance; and the siege had in fact made but little progress. The appearanee of Gonzalves changed the posture of affairs; and seeing what was necessary to complete the reduction of the place with the intuitive perception of real genius, that great general immediately volunteered to make himself master of the course of a small river, which passing close to the city, not only afforded to the garrison their sole supply of water, but also served to turn the mills by which the town was furnished with bread. This important point had not been neglected in Montpensier's plan of defence, and a strong outwork had been thrown forward, enclosing a part of the river's course, which was defended by a chosen body of the most veteran troop in the service.

Gonzalves did not, however, hesitate to attack them; and after a severe struggle, the entrenchments were carried, and the French deprived of the command of water they had hitherto possessed. The mills became the next object; and as no means of replacing these existed within the town, not less pains had been used to ensure them from capture, than that which had been bestowed on the fortifications of the river. The contest here was even more severe than it had been on the former occasion; the garrison fighting for their last hope, while Gonzalves spared no means to strike that decisive blow which he knew must drive them to extremity.

By long reiterated and persevering attacks, he at length effected his object. The French were driven back, the mills remained in the hands of the Spaniards a sufficient

space of time to be completely destroyed by fire; and though the French nobility, by a brilliant charge, retook the ground that had been lost, and succeeded even in introducing a temporary supply into the town, yet the destruction of the mills was irrecoverable. The want of bread and of water soon began to make itself felt with terrible severity, and Montpensier demanded at length to capitulate.

Success is the trial of the mind. The really great, whatever may be their faults, find the mind expand in its sunshine. They may be taught to grasp at vaster conquests, but their ambition itself takes a grander character. The naturally mean, to whatever height fortune may have raised them, find on the contrary the mind contract under the influence of success—their wealth is ever proud, their prosperity is ever insolent; nor can victory, elevation, and triumph, which ought to be the greatest ennoblers of the heart, teach them to despise that which is petty, or cast away from their bosom, that which is little. Ferdinand of Naples would fain have forced the gallant Montpensier to surrender at discretion, and it was only his threat to force his way sword in hand that caused the mean monarch to consent to fair terms of capitulation.

These terms were, that if within thirty days he were not succoured, the Count should deliver up the city to Ferdinand, as well as every other fortress still in his power, and that upon these conditions he and the whole garrison should have free license to return to France by sea or land without let or hindrance. At the end of the stipulated period, Montpensier surrendered Atella, and gave into the hands of Ferdinand's commissioners full power to take possession of all places to which he had appointed the governors.

It was then customary for each officer appointed to command a fortress to give a written promise to the person who appointed him, to the effect that he would never surrender the place entrusted to his defence till that promise should be presented to him. The Count de Montpensier of course gave up to Ferdinand those written engagements which he had received from officers nominated by himself; but Ferdinand demanded those also of all the governors who had been appointed by Charles VIII. himself, declar-

ing that such was the true meaning of the treaty of capitulation.

Whether there was any dubiety of expression in the treaty that admitted this inference, cannot now be told. At all events it was impossible for Montpensier to comply with the demand. Charles had carried the documents required into France, nor would the Count consent even to ask them, declaring that the interpretation which Ferdinand placed on the treaty was false and unjust; that it could but be construed properly to promise the surrender of all places in his own absolute power, not those whose officers had been appointed by the King, which were totally beyond his authority.

It would have been nobler on the part of Ferdinand to construe the treaty in its most liberal sense, and perhaps would have been more to his advantage also; but his mind was not capable of perceiving the policy of generosity, and taking advantage of the misunderstanding, he detained the unhappy garrison of Atella, confining them in separate bodies at various unhealthy places on the sea-coast, where death soon became busy amongst them.

Of seven thousand men who marched out of Atella, before six months had passed but five hundred remained; and at length the Count de Montpensier himself fell a victim to the disease which had carried off so many of his companions. The solicitations of his friends had indeed wrung from Ferdinand a permission for Montpensier to quit the pestilential air in which he had been confined, but the French General refused to abandon his comrades in misfortune, or to accept the ungenerous favour that was refused to them. He stayed, and in a very few weeks sealed his constancy with his death.

It would seem as if the manner of Ferdinand's fate, which followed close upon that of Montpensier, was intended to mark strongly the hand of retributive justice. The same disease which had slain his enemy, confined by him with unwholesome food and poisonous air, found out the monarch, and destroyed him in the pure atmosphere of the campania, and in the midst of all the profusions of a court.

Frederick, his uncle, succeeded him, and Gonzalves of Cordoba still continued the war successfully against the French. By this time D'Aubigny had recovered from the

illness which had for so long paralyzed his efforts; and with wise precaution proceeded to fortify his small forces in Calabria, taking advantage of every strong place the country afforded to form a point of defence, but resting his greatest hope upon Manfredonia, whose natural position and well-planned fortifications put it in a situation to sustain a long siege. Three armies now, however, menaced Calabria; that of Naples, that of Spain under Gonzalves, and that of Venice under the Marquis of Mantua.

Gonzalves took the lead, and marched directly upon Manfredonia, when to the surprise of every one, and of none more than Gonzalves himself, Manfredonia surrendered before it had even been summoned. However irreconcilable the two circumstances may seem, it is nevertheless certain that Montfaucon, who commanded in that town, was a man of tried courage; and no less so that Gonzalves entertained no sort of correspondence in the city which might have brought about so singular a surrender. Montfaucon's conduct has never been clearly explained; but it has been conjectured, that having always been employed in field service, and not having ever been shut up before within the walls of a fortress, all the difficulties of his command came upon his mind at once, and bereaved him for the time of his reason.

The fall of Manfredonia was fatal to the defence of Calabria; and Aubigny, finding himself deprived of the chief of those bulwarks on which he counted to stay the enemy's advance till his preparations should be complete, now turned his thoughts alone to obtaining honourable terms of composition for himself and his small army.

The fate of the Count de Montpensier warned him not to put his faith in the crafty Neapolitans. The Marquis of Mantua, commanding the Venetian forces, was it is true more worthy of reliance; but in the former instance his influence had proved so weak, that he had been obliged to abandon his own brother-in-law* to his unhappy fate. Of the three generals, therefore, who were marching against him, Gonzalves of Cordoba was the only one whose known honour rendered his word trustworthy, and whose name was sufficiently powerful to command the good faith of

* The Count de Montpensier had married the sister of the Marquis of Mantua.

others. With him, therefore, D'Aubigny proposed to treat for the evacuation of Calabria; and after a very short deliberation, his proposal was accepted. Gonzalves, with the consent of the new King Frederick, guaranteed to D'Aubigny the permission and the means of returning to France. All the strong places of Calabria were delivered up; and the Spanish general, on his part, observed his stipulations to the letter.

Had Gonzalves refused the conditions proposed by the French Commander, he would probably have proceeded from victory to victory till he had forced D'Aubigny to surrender at discretion; but the glory he would thus have acquired would surely have been far inferior to the fame so justly his due, of never having shed one drop of blood more than the cause he undertook required, and of never having endangered success by grasping at one personal triumph.

The kingdom of Naples was now once more wrested from the hands of the French, and restored entirely to the former dynasty, except a small district between Naples and Calabria, which returned to obedience at the first approach of Gonzalves and the Spanish forces. The object of the Spanish expedition into Italy was in fact accomplished; and it is more than probable that Ferdinand, King of Spain, would have recalled Gonzalves and his troops as soon as he found that the purpose for which they had been sent was fulfilled, had not another blow remained to be struck against the last vestige of the French domination in Italy.

Alexander the infamous then filled the papal throne; and though his avarice prevented him from entering deeply into the more expensive operations of the war, as far as words, exhortations, and counsels could go, he had taken an active part against the French. Various factions, however, raged in the ecclesiastical states, and of these one of the most powerful was attached to France, and headed by the Cardinal of St. Peter's. By his instigation, it is supposed, a famous pirate, named Menald or Menaldo, a native of Navarre, boldly seized upon the seaport of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and by plundering all vessels that approached the shore, cut off entirely the usual supplies which Rome received from the various maritime cities of Italy. The evil, which at first seemed trifling, gradually became important. Menald strengthened himself in his position, was

found to be supported by France, and scoffing at the thunders of the apostolic see, he continued his depredations, sinking and plundering all vessels that approached the mouth of the Tiber, and rejecting all proposals of amnesty, which fear and interest caused to be held out towards him.

What could not be produced by pacific measures, it became necessary to compel by force of arms, but Alexander VI. possessed not the necessary army to attack Ostia by land, and his galleys had been defeated and sunk in endeavouring to open the passage of the river. In this dilemma he applied to Gonzalves ; and, his request being strongly seconded by Frederic King of Naples, the Spanish General marched into the Papal States, and was received at Rome as a deliverer. After waiting a few days to refresh his troops, Gonzalves proceeded to Ostia, and, as without a fleet there existed no possibility of cutting off its supplies, he determined to attempt the quicker but more hazardous mode of assault by escalade. To divert the enemy's attention, however, from his real design, he caused the cannon to batter in breach, and as soon as practicable, he gave orders for a false attack to be made at that point, while he himself attempted the escalade on the opposite side of the town. His plan succeeded completely. The moment the attack began the principal force of the garrison was directed to the defence of the breach, while Gonzalves found very little opposition offered to the scaling party, which he had kept concealed till the moment of assault.

No sooner did the garrison find that they had been deceived by this stratagem, than they turned to remedy their error, but too late. Gonzalves was already in the town, and at the same moment the false attack was converted into a real one, so that, taken both in front and rear, nothing was left but to surrender or to die.

Menald chose the former, demanding nothing but his life, and following his example, the whole of the garrison surrendered at discretion. Having destroyed the nest of pirates who had so long troubled that part of the coast, Gonzalves returned to Rome, and entered by the Ostian gate, followed by his prisoners, with the air of some antique triumph. The streets and the windows were crowded with the people of Rome, anxious to behold, now that his power to hurt was gone, the savage freebooter who had caused them for years so much terror and annoyance. It may

easily be believed also, that in that semi-barbarous age, as in any other, the conqueror, with his plumes, his waving ensigns, and his steel-clad bands, would have been shouted to the skies, even had his cause been less righteous, and his name less splendid than it was. Thus triumphant as a deliverer, Gonzalves entered Rome, and proceeded direct to the Vatican, where, alighting from his horse, he led his prisoner Menald to the feet of the Pope, who poured forth a torrent of praises on the Spanish captain; and, instead of suffering the usual obeisance, took him in his arms, and embraced him as a friend.

Gonzalves asked but two things as a reward for the service he had just rendered, the life and liberty of Menald his prisoner, and an exemption in favour of Ostia from all imposts for the space of ten years, that it might recover, he said, from the injuries of war.

Such noble demands were not to be refused, and Gonzalves retired from the presence of the Pontiff, the benefactor even of those whom he had conquered.

For some days he remained in Rome, and was admitted more than once to the private council of the Pope. It was on one of these occasions that Alexander, forgetting the vast subjects of reproach that all Europe had against himself, complained bitterly of Ferdinand and Isabella, to whom he had advanced large sums for the war against the Moors, and who yet left him without that countenance and succour which would easily have crushed the factions in his state, and silenced or destroyed his enemies. Gonzalves rose indignantly to defend his royal patrons; and then from the defender becoming the accuser, he firmly and boldly reproached Alexander with his vices and his crimes. With generous eloquence he spoke truths that had never before reached the ears of the corrupt priest, and showing him the disgrace he had brought upon high rank, upon the ecclesiastical character, and even upon human nature, he exorted him to repent in time, before the vengeance of an offended God overtook the profane intruder into his sanctuary, and the scandalous polluter of his holy altar.

Alexander had nothing to reply, and humiliated as much as astonished, awed more than irritated, he suffered Gonzalves to depart, loaded with honours and presents.

From Rome Gonzalves pursued his course towards

Naples, where Frederick, who, by his counsel and assistance, was now firmly seated on the throne, received him as perhaps never subject was received by a monarch. The inhabitants of the city came out for many miles to see him arrive, lining the roads, and making the skies ring with the shouts of a vehement and excitable people. Frederic himself with the whole of his court met him without the walls, and presented him with a small feudal sovereignty in the Abruzzi, as an inadequate reward, he said, for inestimable services.

What was the precise nature of the power with which Gonzalves on his first departure for Italy, had been invested by Ferdinand King of Spain, or whether that power had been increased in proportion to the success with which he carried on the war, is impossible now to say. At all events, that power must have been by this time paramount to every other but the King's own in his Sicilian dominions; for we find Gonzalves sailing almost immediately after his arrival at Naples, and calling to a severe account the Governor of Sicily for his tyranny and exactions.

On his arrival he found the trade in corn, the staple commerce of the Sicilians, almost entirely crushed under the heavy imposts laid upon it by the avaricious Governor; confusion reigning in every part of the Government, and the people in a state of tumult and revolt. By a few wise regulations and vigorous measures, he removed the cause of discontent, allayed the ferment of the people, and convoking the states of the kingdom at Palermo, established the commercial interests of the kingdom for the time on a firm and ascertained basis.

We have said that the whole territory of Naples had submitted to Frederick, there was still, however, a small sovereignty on the extremity of the kingdom, which, though holding from the crown of Naples as its feudal superior, still maintained the title of the French monarch, and refused to submit to the house of Arragon. This consisted, of the town and domain of Diano on the Sello, and thither Frederick called the arms of Gonzalves, as soon as he had pacified the people of Sicily.

The city was well prepared to withstand a siege, and showed a determination to defend itself to the last; Gonzalves made every overture to negotiation, but in vain, and he then commenced the siege in form. The attack and

defence proceeded for some time with equal vigour, but at length the Spaniards having carried the principal defences by storm, the garrison threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. It is always a difficult task for a commander to prevent much bloodshed under such circumstances; Gonzalves, however, succeeded in the present instance, and by the great authority which he possessed over his troops, restrained them from the slaughter and outrage which the drunkenness of victory generally entails upon a city taken by storm. He also acted as mediator between the inhabitants of the city and their offended sovereign, and then, having seen Frederick in peaceful possession of the whole of his hereditary dominions, he set sail for Spain, to which country he was now called by the express command of Ferdinand.

Honours and wealth awaited Gonzalves in his native land; for a war so distant from his own immediate court, so little expensive in its course, and so successful in its event, gratified Ferdinand's ambition, his policy, and his pride, without wounding his avarice or awakening his jealousy. Fortune therefore showered its choicest favours on the head of Gonzalves, and the means of meriting reward and honour were certainly not denied him. During his absence from Spain, the unhappy Moors, whom he had aided to subdue, had been subjected to all the petty tyrannies of superstitious fanaticism. The treaty, by which the right of following their own worship had been promised to them, by this time had been violated, and the fraudulent impudence of the antique Roman church had forged a thousand plausible pretexts to justify persecution and intolerance in their case, notwithstanding all the oaths under which they had weakly deemed themselves secure.

Were there a power on earth that could really untwine the bonds of a man's most solemn engagements, it would indeed need an infallible being to be the depositary thereof, for what a mighty engine, constructed from all the bad passions of humanity, might be moved by that small spring. At that time, however, both the church's power of absolving from all engagements, and the infallibility of its head, were firmly believed in on all hands, though morally contradicted every day, and Ferdinand of course found himself as free from all his oaths to infidels as if those oaths had never been taken. The Moors, irritated at the oppression they suffered, and indignant at finding themselves de-

ceived, showed evident symptoms of revolt, and called loudly for aid from their brethren in Africa. To meet the formidable preparations making on the opposite coast, and to quell the turbulent spirit prevailing in the heart of his own dominions, Ferdinand called all his vassals to the field. An immense army was thus raised; and, though in no country did rank and wealth bear a greater sway at that time than in Spain, yet in opposition to the claims of many distinguished suitors, the command of the whole was entrusted to Gonzalves de Cordoba.

Scared with the very news of so vast an armament, the Moors of Africa abandoned their meditated expedition, and nothing remained for Gonzalves but to reduce once more the Moors of Grenada to subjection. The task was an easy one, and Gonzalves prepared to undertake it, by ordering that all the new recruits should be sent back to their houses, and that none but old and tried soldiers should be retained in the ranks. On the second day of inspection, finding that his elder brother, Don Alphonso de Cordoba, who now served under him, had neglected to obey his commands, he reproved him in the face of the army with the same calm dignity with which he would have addressed any other disobedient officer. Don Alphonso submitted and obeyed, and a thousand after circumstances proved that the strictness of Gonzalves as a commander, in no degree estranged the affection of his brother.

The Moors of Spain, finding themselves abandoned by the allies, whose promised aid had rendered them proud and confident, menaced by a large and veteran army, and opposed by a commander whose activity they remembered with dread, began heartily to repent of having engaged in a revolt, the issue of which bade fair to bring down destruction on their heads.

On the very first approach of Gonzalves, they ceased all show of resistance, and sent messengers entreating his clemency and his intercession with Ferdinand.

Gonzalves was ever willing to undertake the part of a mediator, and in this instance he was more successful than perhaps even the Moors themselves expected, for he not only obtained for them a general amnesty, but he also engaged Ferdinand to renew his promise of religious toleration, and to issue strict commands that it should not be violated by those in authority under him. This promise

having been given after their submission, when nothing farther could be gained by deceit, appeared rightly to the Moors, as more likely to be durable than that which had been extorted under the walls of Grenada, and had so soon been violated. They returned therefore to their homes contented, and Gonzalves passed a short time at the court, enjoying some repose after so many years of activity and excitement. His day of rest, however, was destined to be a short one, and new wars soon called him into the field again.

Charles VIII. of France had died suddenly without issue, and the Duke of Orleans, his cousin, succeeded under the title of Louis XII. Immediately after his accession, Louis discovered that his grandmother, Valentinia, had been the rightful heiress of the Duchy of Milan, and consequently he determined without delay to make himself master of that territory, which at that time was held in undisputed possession by Ludovico Sforza. Louis, however, proceeded more cautiously than Charles had done, and before he entered Italy, took care, by ambitious prospects and specious promises, to bind to his interest all the neighbouring princes who might oppose his progress. The unhappy Sforza thus found himself at once in the face of a formidable enemy, destitute of allies, and surrounded by greedy neighbours, who no sooner saw the attack begun than they each stretched forth the hand to snatch some gem from his ducal coronet.

Amongst the most eager to despoil him was the state of Venice, and partly perhaps in revenge, partly to cause a diversion in his favour, Sforza called in the aid of Bajazet, the Sultan of Turkey, who very willingly fell upon the possessions of his ancient enemy the Venetians, and in a short time had deprived them of far more than they had gained by their attack upon Sforza.

The history of the unfortunate Duke of Milan, his efforts to recover his dominions, the treachery of the Swiss whom he had engaged in his service, his capture, his imprisonment, and his death in captivity, are all too well known to need any lengthened detail in this place. Suffice it that after having aided to strip him of his dominions the confederates of Louis XII., as usual, quarrelled about the division of the spoil. Nations, like individuals, al-

ways attach greater expectations to the success of an enterprize than any success can satisfy, and are very frequently more disappointed in the accomplishment of their undertaking than they would have been in its failure. Thus, no sooner was Sforza deprived of his territories, than all the allies broke out into murmurs against Louis and against each other. The petty princes of Italy began to see their error in having destroyed an equal to replace him by a superior. The Pope declared that Louis had failed in the promises he had held out to his natural son Cesar Borgia, and joined himself eagerly to a new league, proposed by Frederic King of Naples, for the purpose of checking the ambitious projects of the French monarch. The Venetians also, on their part, declared they had lost more than they had gained by the assistance they had rendered to the King of France, and turned all their thoughts to the recovery of their possessions from Bajazet.

The arms of Turkey, however, still continued victorious, and the Venetians were fain to apply most humbly for protection and assistance to the various princes of Christendom, calling on them for the honour of religion as well as justice, to aid them against the aggression of the infidel. The only one, however, who favourably answered their appeal was Ferdinand King of Spain. His motives for granting them the aid that they demanded, remain buried beyond the power of research. We can but conjecture. The motive that he assigned, however—compassionate friendship for the state of Venice—is so discordant with every painciple shown throughout his life that it merits no belief. Ferdinand was not a man to equip a mighty armament, and expend the blood of his bravest troops, as well as large sums of that treasure which was like the blood of his own heart, without some other moving cause, to him, more powerful than compassion. He might fear that the conquests of the Turks would in time, if unchecked, reach even to his Sicilian dominions, and might therefore seek at once to bar their further progress; he might also, it is true, already meditate his future treachery against the King of Naples, and therefore seek to approximate his troops to that kingdom, whithout raising a doubt or a suspicion.

However that might be, Gonzalves was soon called upon to take the command of a fleet of sixty vessels, containing eight thousand infantry and a small body of choice cavalry,

with which he was to join the Venetian fleet in the Ionian sea, and direct the operations of the whole armament, upon whatever point he deemed liable to attack. No sooner was it known that so strong a force, commanded by so renowned a chief, was destined to war against the infidels, than thousands of volunteers presented themselves, from the highest classes of the Spanish nobility, eager and enthusiastic to draw their swords in a strife where the desire of glory was raised and sanctified by a righteous cause, and by religious zeal.

The voyage was swift and happy, but on arriving at Zante the first news received from the Venetians was anything but favourable. The fleet of the republic had met with nothing but defeat and loss, under two successive commanders. Coron and Modon had fallen into the hands of the Turks, who had before made themselves masters of the greater part of Etolia and Epirus, which had previously belonged to Venice. The last, however, and the greatest of the Venetian losses, had been Cephalonia, and it was to be feared that all the Ionian Isles would soon be snatched from the republic, and go to increase the dominions of the infidels.

At Zante Gonzalves joined the Venetian fleet, now under a new commander, and immediately proposed a descent upon Cephalonia. The Turkish armament had by this time retired to the Helespont, on account of the autumnal gales, so that nothing but the winds of heaven were likely to oppose the allies in the short passage from Zante to Cephalonia. The Venetian commander eagerly acceded to the proposal made by Gonzalvez, the wind soon proved favourable, and the two fleets succeeded without difficulty in reaching their destination and disembarking their forces

Previous to his departure from Zante, however, Gonzalves had thought fit to send a flag of truce to the Turkish commander of Cephalonia, summoning him to surrender, in so pompous and tumid a manner that it is impossible to reconcile it with the dignified modesty which the Spanish general showed on all occasions, except by supposing that in this instance he thought fit to imitate the florid bombast of the oriental style, that his message might meet with the attention and consideration which was its due.

Gisdar, the commandant of Cephalonia, an Epirote by birth, was not to be outdone in high-flown language, and

addressing the Spanish officer, who had been admitted to his presence, he replied: "We thank you much, generous Christian, for the opportunity you give us of signalizing our zeal in the service of our most high and powerful emperor, by the resistance we intend to offer you. The threats of men shake us not, knowing that life and death depend upon a destiny over which they have no power. Return then to your general, and tell him that each of my soldiers has seven bows and seven thousand arrows, with which we will well avenge the loss of our lives, in case an inevitable necessity wills us to perish."

The same bold language continued to be held after the disembarkation of the Spanish and Venetian forces, and neither the numbers, the warlike skill, or the unceasing attacks of the besiegers, seemed for one moment to diminish the confidence of the garrison. The cannon of the Italians were of an unheard-of calibre in that day, but no sooner had they succeeded in opening a breach in the wall, than works were constructed within which rendered it impracticable. In the meantime the artillery of the fortress was not silent, keeping up a well served and murderous fire upon the besiegers greater part of the day and night, while showers of arrows, winged with all the dexterity of long practice, reached even to the Spanish camp, and penetrated many of the tents. A report too, soon began to prevail that these arrows were poisoned, and several rapid deaths, after very slight wounds, contributed to confirm the opinion.

This but rendered the Spaniards more eager to hurry forward the siege, and though access, even to the foot of the wall, was scarcely practicable, yet not a day passed but some attempt to storm was made, either by the regular troops or the volunteers. At the same time every means of warfare was resorted to by the besieged, to destoy their enemies on the occasion of such attacks.

Arrows, immense stones, boiling oil, and liquid fire, were poured down upon their heads, while others were caught by a long hook, which seizing them by the neck, or under the rim of the cuirass, drew them up to the top of the ramparts, not to victory but death.

At night the besieged quitted the defensive, and took more active measures against their enemies, issuing forth from the walls in strong parties, and leaving no rest to those who were to attack them the next day.

To have formed the necessary lines, completely to fortify his camp, would have been a work of such labour, and in that stony soil would have occupied so long, that Gonzalves did not waste a moment in the endeavour. To check the sorties of the enemy, however, he caused a high cavalier of brickwork to be constructed, in such a manner as to command the line between the city and his camp, and the garrison soon found, by the destruction of considerable bodies, which went forth as usual to attack the quarters of the Spanish general, that such enterprizes would now prove only disastrous to themselves.

Their courage, notwithstanding, remained unabated, and their ingenuity soon supplied new means of harassing and destroying their enemy. They had now recourse to mining, and with wonderful skill and perseverance contrived to pierce through an obdurate and stony soil, a long subterranean passage leading from the city almost to the Spanish camp. But Gonzalves, in addition to all his other high qualities as a general, had that keenness of perception which seems in some men more the result of a peculiar sense than of a combination formed in the mind.

The Turks had refrained from any farther enterprizes against his camp—they had kept wholly upon the defensive,—yet their character was that of activity and ardour —could they then, he asked himself, act thus without employing their superabundant energies in some concealed undertaking? No—and his mind instantly fixed upon the very scheme in which they were engaged. What was at first but a suspicion in his own breast, was soon confirmed by the engineers he employed to examine, and the remedy was as promptly applied. The unfortunate Turks were easily countermined, and blown up in the midst of their labours, and this their abortive attempt terminated all their more extraordinary efforts to drive the enemy from their walls.

The Spanish camp now began to feel the want of bread, and, after having employed various ingenious contrivances for the purpose of establishing mills and ovens, Gonzalves found the supply still so scanty, that without some means could be found of hastening the capture of the place, he should be obliged to abandon the siege from mere want of provisions. In this difficulty he applied to the engineer who had aided him to counteract the Turkish scheme for

burning his camp, and in whom he fancied he discovered talents of a superior order, though now employed but in an inferior station. Peter Navarro, for so was called the engineer, showed himself ready and able to second the intentions of his general. Instead of directing all his efforts against the wall of the fortress, which was the common custom of the day, he contrived to sap various parts of the rock itself, and thus blow up a large range of wall, leaving a practicable breach ten times more extensive than any which the cannon had been able to effect during the whole course of the siege.

Gonzalves lost no time, but led his men to the assault, while they, indignant at having been detained so long before a petty fortress, with a barbarous garrison, rushed on, jostling each other in their eagerness to be first within the walls, and totally careless of the tremendous fire under which they were obliged to advance. The Turks defended themselves to the last with a desperate valour, which merited though it did not win success. Foot after foot of ground was fought for within the walls, and man after man died where he stood, neither giving nor receiving quarter, till every Moslem found in arms lay dead within that bloody arena. Only forty men were spared, and these were the wounded in the hospital, who had not possessed sufficient strength to wield a sabre in that day's desperate defence. Thus ended the siege of Cephalonia, and the Venetians immediately prepared to follow up their victory, by setting sail for Santa Maura; but Gonzalves had by this time received orders to return without delay to Sicily, and consequently was obliged to leave them to proceed alone on the glorious career which his sword had first opened for their steps. Before separating from him, however, the Venetian commander, after thanking him in the name of the Senate for his splendid services, sent him, as a testimony of gratitude, a multitude of rich and magnificent articles, not unlike in description some of the oriental gifts so often mentioned in the Bible—vessels of gold and of silver richly wrought, fine raiment of purple and scarlet, a number of Thracian chargers, and ten thousand crowns of gold. Some of the vases, more valuable for their workmanship than for their materials, Gonzalves kept for himself; the rest of the Venetian presents he distributed amongst his soldiers, giving the money to the lower ranks,

and offering the horses and silver vessels to the officers who had shared in his undertaking.

On arriving in Sicily, Gonzalves received immediate orders to second all the wishes of Frederick King of Naples, who, finding his dominions menaced by Louis XII. of France, had endeavoured to strengthen himself as much as possible, by alliances, not only with the Princes of Italy, but with his old protector Ferdinand of Spain.

Gonzalves prepared with pleasure to serve a prince whom he had already served so well, and who appreciated his services; and he only waited for some direct order from Frederic to land his troops on any point of the kingdom of Naples which the King might judge expedient.

At length the French army began its march for Naples, and Frederic, taking up a strong position on the frontier of his dominions, wrote to Gonzalves, desiring him to land his troops once more at Reggio, and to take upon himself the defence of Calabria.

Almost at the same time with the messenger from Frederic, there arrived at Messina an officer charged with despatches from Spain, and their contents gave more pain to the heart of Gonzalves than any that perhaps he had ever received. These despatches also contained commands for him to land in Calabria, but it was for the purpose of taking possession of it for Spain.

Little doubt can be entertained that Ferdinand had long looked with a covetous eye upon the kingdom of Naples, and had only been prevented from endeavouring to annex it to his Sicilian dominions by the difficulty of the undertaking, and the opposition he was certain of encountering from the other sovereigns of Europe. He waited, therefore, but for opportunity; and to colour his treachery, whenever circumstances should render it feasible, a claim to the crown of Naples was always to be found in the manner of that crowns's descent to its present possessors.

Joan of Anjou, Queen of the two Sicilies, had adopted as her heir Alphonso V. King of Arragon, who afterwards, in effect, possessed himself of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and annexed them to his patrimonial dominions. Alphonso died, leaving no issue but one natural son, and conceiving that he had a title—as by all natural right he had—to dispose of a kingdom by gift which had itself been given to him, he bequeathed the crown of Naples to

his natural son, leaving to his brother John his hereditary dominions, augmented by the rich island of Sicily. John never dreamed of disputing his brother's bequest, and the kingdom of Naples descended tranquilly to the children of Alphonso's natural son, whose right was only contested by the monarchs of France. The Ferdinand of whom we now write succeeded his father John in the throne of Arragon; and we have already seen him assisting his cousins in recovering the kingdom of Naples from the French, and by that very assistance virtually recognising their title to that crown. Louis XII. of France, however, finding that his schemes against Naples must ever fail of success while opposed by Ferdinand as well as all the Princes of Italy, easily saw through the veil of moderation and religious zeal with which the Spanish monarch covered his ambition, and proposed to him at once to share the kingdom of Naples between them, offering him all Calabria and the territories opposite to the Sicilian shore, and proposing to retain for himself the whole remaining territory, together with the title of King of Naples.

Ferdinand demanded three days to consider, and it would be curious to determine what were the questions he revolved in his mind—whether shame for his meditated perfidy or pity for his deceived relation ever entered into his thoughts, or whether his whole ideas fixed on the calculation of what power he possessed to snatch from the French their share of the spoil as soon as it would be won.

Ferdinand found himself sufficiently strong, and acceeded to the proposal; and while Gonzales was recalled to Sicily, the French monarch began his preparations for invading the fated country. The most profound secrecy however was maintained in regard to the league that had been formed; and as we have seen, Gonzalves himself was directed in the first instance to obey the wishes of the devoted King of Naples, and kept in complete ignorance of the designs of his master. At length, however, the dispatches arrived, and Gonzalves found himself called upon to turn the sword, which he had hitherto wielded in defence of Frederic, against him, at the very moment he had himself been loaded with honours and rewards by that unhappy sovereign. His orders were, instanlty to take possession of Calabria in the name of Ferdinand; and how far it was intended that he

should do so without giving any previous warning may be best judged by the character of the monarch he served.

To turn his arms in whatsoever direction his sovereign commanded, was his duty as a soldier and a subject, but to betray a friend and benefactor was what no one could justly require. Previous, therefore, to executing the orders he received, and even before declaring war, Gonzalves sent a messenger to the King of Naples laying before him his grief at the commands which forced him to appear in arms against him; at the same time begging him to receive back the investiture of all those domains which had been bestowed upon him as a reward for former services.

Fredric, though the news of Ferdinand's treachery was a death-blow to his hopes, was touched with the generous feelings of the Spanish commander, and instead of receiving the letters patent which Gonzalves had sent back, he confirmed them by a new charter, and bade the gentleman who brought them tell his Lord that, though Fortune might compel them to fight on different sids, she could never make them enemies.

On the return of his messenger, Gonzlaves with slow unwillingness declared war between Spain and Naples, and published the proclamation of Ferdinand, in which that monarch put forth various specious pretexts, to gloss over the baseness of his aggression. In the first place, the Spanish monarch declared that Alphonso, by the laws of Arragon, could not alienate any part of the crown domain, and therefore the kingdom of Naples could not pass by will to his natural son to the prejudice of his brother John, his lawful heir, from whom Ferdinand claimed.

This was the strong point of Ferdinand's manifesto, but he could not refrain from still making use of the hypocritical affectation of religious enthusiasm, at the very moment when, as a crowned bravo, he was committing a robbery which had nothing to distinguish it from the act of a common highwayman but extent. He pretended that he took possession of Calabria for the good of Christendom, alleging that the power of the Turks had now acquired a growth which demanded imperatively the presence of some more potent monarch in the south of Italy to check their aggressions, and to curb their insolence; and he added, that certain informaton had reached him of the Sultan's intention to pursue the war he had so successfully begun

against the Venetians, and to make himself master of all Italy.

Such were some of the pretences with which Ferdinand endeavoured to cover his crime; while Fredric, desponding and heartbroken, prepared still to struggle against his adverse fortune. We cannot here enter into any long account of the operations of the French army, to repel which the luckless King of Napies directed his chief energies. Suffice it that after various reverses he was obliged to retire to the city of Naples, the fickle inhabitants of which threw open the gates to the Duke of Nemours and the French army, even before they were besieged, and forced their sovereign to take refuge in the citadel. Here Frederic might have held out long, but his spirit was crushed beneath the weight of his misfortunes. The defeat of his friends, the treachery of his allies, the desertion of his subjects, brought about that weariness of heart, under the influence of which, when sick of human baseness and Fortune's instability, men have been known to cast away a crown for a cockle-shell. He was in this state of despondency when the Marechal d'Aubigny presented himself with proposals from Louis King of France.

Frederic admitted him to his presence, and d'Aubigny then offered, in the name of his royal master, that in case he would agree to yield to France that part of his dominions stipulated in the treaty between Ferdinand and Louis, he should be received in France with honour and friendship, that he should be put in immediate possession of the Duchy of Anjou, with an establishment suited to his rank and his merit; and lastly, that he should receive an annual pension of thirty thousand crowns, in addition to the revenues of the domain assigned to him.

Frederic has been blamed for acceding to these terms. He might, it is true, have held out longer; he might, perhaps, have received succour, or chance might have brought division amongst his enemies; but on the one side was strife, anxiety, doubt—on the other was certainty and peace; and who can say that his choice was a bad one? The terms were kept on both parts with honourable fidelity; and Frederic retired to France, to live in peace and forget his royalty.

In the meanwhile, Gonzalves had entered into Calabria, and had met with no resistance. Every town had opened

its gates at his approach, except Tarentum and Manfredonia, which still held out for Frederic; but, notwithstanding the resistance of these cities, the whole of Calabria might be considered in possession of Spain.

Probably informed of Ferdinand's views upon the rest of the kingdom, Gonzalves lost no time in conciliating the affection of the Neapolitan nobles, and his popular manners rendered him in this object eminently successful. The noble family of the Colonas, also, who, as long as Frederick had been able to make an effort had remained constant to his party, now joined Gonzalves, and brought many more to his standard by the very reputation of their name. The whole of the inferior nobility attached themselves likewise to him, and the people every where showed themselves far more disposed to coalesce with the Spaniards than with their ancient enemies, the French.

Whether Louis, on his part, entertained the same designs of mastering the whole kingdom which had certainly been conceived of Ferdinand is very doubtful. However that may be, the commanders of the French army lost no opportunity of endeavouring to strengthen their party amongst the Neapolitans, and even made various covert attempts to induce the garrisons of Tarentum and Manfredonia to surrender those cities into their hands, although they were situated in the territory secured by treaty to the crown of Spain. They represented to the governors of each that Ferdinand of Spain had abandoned Frederic, and would likewise abandon them, whenever it suited his policy; they offered honours and distinctions, and rewards; and the well known Yves d'Alegre, one of the best officers in their army, feigned a vow to Saint Catalda, for the purpose of gaining admission into Tarentum, to communicate with the Governor. The cities, however, still held out, and the French officer was obliged to keep his communication with the Saint for another time. In the meanwhile, Gonzalves was not ignorant of the proceedings of the French, and fearful lest they should prove successful, he hastened forward, and laid siege to Manfredonia, which lay between Tarentum and Naples. His army was followed by an immense train of heavy artillery, which in an amazingly short time laid the wall in ruins, and the way into the heart of the fortress lay open before him, but Gonzalves was unwilling to shed the blood which must

ever flow in the capture of a city by storm. He ordered the cannonade to cease, and sending a herald into the town he conjured the garrison not to drive him to the dreadful extremity of an assault. He showed them that he knew the ruined state of their fortifications, he pointed out to them the immense superiority of his own forces, and after convincing them that longer resistance was impossible, he offered them the same terms that he had done before their wall had been shattered by a shot. The garrison, it may easily be believed, gladly embraced the offer that was made them ; and according to the articles of capitulation, issued forth from Manfredonia, and joined themselves to the army of their conquerer.

Gonzalves immediately turned towards Tarentum, and laid siege to it in form ; though the extreme strength of the place, the number of the garrison, and the care with which Frederick had furnished it with provisions of every kind, announced but too surely that many a month would be consumed before it could be forced to surrender.

Situated originally upon a small promontory, jutting out some way into the sea, Tarentum had been separated from the land for the purposes of defence. The only approach to it was by two bridges, which, crossing the cut that had been made in the isthmus, were defended at the extremities next the town by two strong forts.

The garrison consisted of six thousand chosen men, supplied by immence magazines. Water was abundant, the side towards the sea was perfectly inaccessible to any means of attack known at that period ; and every person incapable of active service had previously been removed from the town.

When together with these advantages, possessed by the place itself, were considered the disadvantages under which Gonzalves loboured, the scantiness of his forces, the difficulty of finding supplies, the want of ammunition, and the distance necessary to be travelled before it could be procured, as well as the failure of remittances to pay his soldiers, the siege of Tarentum seemed one of the most hopeless undertakings in which that great general had ever been involved.

The timidity of the besieged, however, brought about a capitulation, which he had no reason to expect, and which, though he caught at it eagerly from the knowledge of his

own inefficient forces, placed him in the end in one of the most painful situations in which a man of honourable feeling could be placed. Nor, indeed, did he extricate himself from the difficulty with the same gloss upon his renown by which it had been hitherto distinguished. Within the walls of Tarentum, Frederic in quitting Naples had placed, as we have said, a strong garrison, well supplied. He had calculated that the place might hold out a year, during the lapse of which dissensions were likely to rise up between the French and Spanish armies that had co-operated to plunder him of his dominions, and consequently his party might still find an opportunity of lifting up its head sufficiently to struggle against the divided efforts of both his enemies. For this purpose it was that he had taken such pains to secure Tarentum, and had left therein a garrison which might have easily become an army. That a head to his party might never be wanting, even during his absence, he had left in that city his eldest son, the Duke of Calabria, a talented and precocious boy, whose budding graces and whose early powers had already attached the Neapolitans strongly to his person. This very circumstance, however, through the weakness of those to whose care he committed his last point of defence, proved the ruin of his cause for ever. No sooner had Gonzalves invested Tarentum, as far as his scanty forces permitted, than the preceptor of the young Prince, taking fright before a gun had been fired, called into consultation the Governor, represented to him the dangers to which the young Prince had been exposed during a lengthened siege, and proposed that negociations should be entered into with the Spanish commander, for the purpose of averting the horrors of war, without compromising the liberty of the young Duke of Calabria. There is nothing so infectious as timidity; and the Governor—as brave a man as ever drew a sword—suffered himself to be tainted with the cowardly policy of the Prince's guardian. Messengers were in consequence dispatched to Gonzalves, offering the surrender of the town at the end of six months, in case the siege should not be raised by that time, and upon condition that every person without distinction, should, be permitted to retire from the city, and proceed whithersoever he would, without let or hindrance on the part of Spain.

Gonzalves was but too willing to accede to such a pro-

posal, but to cover his eagerness he hesitated about the time to be granted, and demanded that it should be reduced to four months in place of six: in other respects leaving the besieged to draw out the treaty as they thought fit.

His demand was conceded, and the Governor, together with the Preceptor of the young Prince, framed the treaty of capitulation with scrupulous exactness, taking care that it should be specified in more than one place, that the Prince should have free permission to retire wheresoever he should determine.

Gonzalves signed the treaty; and to give it more authenticity, took an oath in presence of both armies, that he would observe the conditions truly and faithfully, and thereupon received the sacrament with all the solemn formalities of the Roman church.

We would fain pause here, and pass over the rest of this transaction in silence; but it must not be.

A copy of the treaty was sent to Ferdinand, King of Spain, who at once saw how much his interest demanded, that the son and heir of the King whom he was plundering of his dominions, should not escape so easily from his power. But Ferdinand loved the reputation of being a conscientious man; and to keep both his character and the Duke of Calabria, he summoned together an anomalous sort of court, for the purpose of deciding whether he had not a right to violate the treaty contracted in his name. The obedient court determined that, notwithstanding the full powers conferred upon Gonzalves when he took the command of the army, he was not authorized to enter into a treaty of such consequence except as referable to the ultimate decision of his soverign. To have recalled him, however, to answer for thus overstepping his authority would in no degree have suited Ferdinand's purpose, and he therefore gave orders to Gonzalves to let every thing pass quietly during the specified time of truce; but at the end of that period, when the city should be delivered up, to make himself master of the young Duke's person, and to send him forthwith into Spain.

It appears that Gonzalves did remonstrate warmly against the iniquity of the proceeding, and represented to the King, that not only his word was pledged as a man of honour, but that his conscience as a Christian was engaged by an oath taken upon the communion.

To this Ferdinand replied, that the first honour of a soldier consisted in serving well his king. At the same time, to quiet his general's conscience, he referred Gonzalves' doubts to the same court whose decision had so successfully tranquilized his own. The court, which was composed of many a reverend authority, immediately decided that the oath which Gonzalves had taken in receiving the command of the army, to obey the orders of his sovereign in every point, was paramount to all others, and completely annulled the subsequent engagement which he had made to the king's enemies.

Gonzalves was satisfied with their decision, suffered the four months to expire without breathing a word of the meditated treachery; allowed the garrison to march forth as he had promised, but to the eternal infamy of himself and his master, arrested the young Duke of Calabria on the shore as he was about to embark, and sent him to Spain, notwithstanding the remonstrances, the entreaties, and reproaches of those he had aided in so cruelly deceiving.

It is hard—it is very hard, that we scarcely meet with one great man in history, who has had the charity to transmit a brilliant name to posterity without some damning stain to make it as much a warning as an example.

Several persons have attempted to defend Gonzalves for obeying the commands of Ferdinand, on the principles on which those commands were given. The matter, however, will not bear an argument. Gonzalves had power, or he had not, to grant such terms as he did to the garrisons of Tarentum. If he had not, he was culpable in having granted them. If he had, he was still more culpable in violating them. In regard to his oath of obedience to Ferdinand; no oath can be binding upon any man except under certain restrictions, for there are duties imposed upon us by our very state of being from which no oath can exempt us; there are duties which we owe ourselves, commonly classed together under the word honour, and duties which we owe to our God, from which no contract with any other being can free us. Gonzalves violated both those sorts of duty in making himself the instrument of Ferdinand's treachery against his oath registered in heaven, and his honour plighted towards men, and the record of that disgrace remains a withering spot upon his laurels for ever. Nor is it difficult to say what he should have done.

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He should have refused to make himself a villain; and if his sense of duty towards Ferdinand prevented him from publishing in the ears of the besieged, the treason that was plotting against them, he should never have consented to be the perpetrator thereof himself. He should have resigned his command for ever—aye, and laid his head beneath the axe, rather than have left so dark a blotch upon the escutcheon of his honour. Another reproach has been cast upon Gonzalves for an action which took place about this period of his life, but in which he is much less blameworthy than in his conduct towards the garrison of Tarentum.

We have before said, that even at the commencement of the siege, the pay of his soldiers had been suffered to fall very much into arrear, and consequently every day their murmers became louder and more loud. At length, however, the French Admiral Ravestin, in returning from an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Mitelyne, was wrecked with the greater part of his fleet upon Cerigo, and lost not only the whole of his warlike stores but even found himself without the necessaries of life. Gonzalves no sooner heard of his situation, than with that profuse liberality for which he had been noted from his youth, he sent him immediately abundant supplies, not only of those things absolutely necessary to his comfort but of luxuries and ornaments. Vests, horses, caparisons, furs, beds, and plate. This ill-timed generosity to strangers, though furnished from his private fortune, irritated his already discontented soldiers, symptoms of general revolt manifested themselves throughout the army.

Fortune, however, compelled a Genoese vessel to enter the harbour of Tarentum, then blockaded by the Spanish fleet. Immediate orders were issued for seizing the ship and her rich cargo, and as a pretence for confiscating both it was averred that she was engaged in carrying military stores to Constantinople for the service of the great enemy of Christendom. Every thing on board was therefore declared to be forfeited and sold accordingly, from the produce of which Gonzalves drew a sufficient sum to pay his mutinous troops, and reduced them once more to obedience

Genoa of course did not fail to remonstrate with the Spanish General against his ungenerous breach of the friendly relations existing between her government and the

King of Spain. Gonzalves, however, boldly pleaded necessity, without sheltering himself under any other excuse. The General of an army, he said, had only to look to success, and in times of danger all means were justifiable, providing the persons suffering at the time, were afterwards indemnified for the loss they had sustained.

The maxim was a dangerous one, but one too often acted upon. to be without many a precedent. Whether in this matter the indemnification ever took place or not, does not appear.

The kingdom of Naples was now entirely occupied by French and Spanish forces. The party of Frederic might be considered as at an end, and Ferdinand and Louis had now nothing left but to divide the spoil. The happy ambiguity of language, without which almost all contentions would soon expire from inanition, easily furnished the two monarchs with a seemly pretext for trying their strength in the arena which they had won. A dispute about boundaries arose from the wording of the treaty, originating first between Gonzalves and the Duke of Nemours. The question was then referred to the two Kings, who both declared they were too little acquainted with the country to settle the dispute, and again bade their generals decide. Their generals took them at their word, and the sword was drawn on both sides.

Ferdinand's confidence in Gonzalves must indeed have been great, for he seems not to have doubted for a moment his ultimate success, although on the very first rupture with France he was obliged to retreat before the enemy, far superior in number to his own forces, and shut himself up in the small town of Barletta, on the sea coast. The French followed close upon his track, and had they employed their whole force at once in a viguorous attack upon the town, which was but weakly fortified, it is probable that Gonzalves would have been obliged either to capitulate, or, throwing himself into his vessels, to have abandoned Italy for the time.

The faults of his adversaries are at least as serviceable to a good general as his own talents, and Gonzalves had time to strengthen himself in Barletta, while the Duke of Nemours contented himself with investing the place by land, though it could at all times be fully supplied by sea. The French General did not, it is true, employ his whole

troops in this one object, but despatched four thousand foot, and about the same force of horse, into Calabria, under Marshal d'Aubigny, who had commanded in that district during the former. We cannot follow d'Aubigny farther, than to say, that he was at first eminently successful, and again in the neighbourhood of Manfredonia, gained a complete victory over a superior body of Sicilian troops.

In the meanwhile, Gonzalves remained firm in Barletta, not only acting the part of a great General, but also of a skilful negotiator, treating—now with the Emperor Maximilian, and showing him how deeply his interests were involved in those of Spain, and how much necessity there existed for his instant and powerful co-operation—now with Venice, leading the wily bride of the Adriatic to send him supplies, and to furnish the nerves of war, even though she dared not break openly her French alliance. Still the Duke of Nemours pressed him hard, closing in upon him with his forces, and cutting off all communication with the land. The supplies from sea became rarer also in Barletta. Some of the vessels fell into the hands of the enemy, some were detained by contrary winds, some were not despatched when they should have been, so that famine and necessity began to rage in the garrison. The soldiers were starved and nearly naked, and many were the murmurs as, looking out day after day over the wide sea, they found that the promised supplies did not appear. But still Gonzalves held firm to his purpose, and at length, to the joy of the garrison, and the despair of the besiegers, the sails of the Venetians filled the harbour of Barletta, bringing abundant supplies both of food and raiment.

The spirits of the Spaniards which had sunk painfully during the time of dearth, now rose in proportion, and Gonzalves took care by continual sorties and skirmishes, to keep the French in active employment, and to exercise his own troops, turn by turn, in every sort of warfare.

Many were the defiances between the individuals of one army and those of the other, and many the feats of chivalry which were performed between the two hosts. In one instance, eleven Spanish knights were pitted in preconcerted combat against eleven gentlemen of France, amongst whom appeared the famous Chevalier Bayard. The combat, which took place on this occasion, is variously detailed by various writers, and so different are the circum-

stances related by each, that were not the names of the champions and the date of the battle the same, no one would believe that the same event was alluded to by any two of the persons who have described it. It is unnecessary in this place to endeavour even to separate the particles of truth that are scattered through the several accounts, or to describe a single combat which took place shortly after between Bayard and a Spanish officer called Sottomayor, and which has been well described elsewhere. Suffice it that these single combats and individual strifes occasioned a degree of bitterness and personal rivalry between the Spanish and French troops, which characterized the whole of the subsequent war. The spirit of bravado was even carried so far, that the Duke of Nemours at last advanced with his whole force within half a league of Barletta, and despatched a herald to Gonzalves daring him to come forth and meet the French army in the open field. Gonzalves received the message with the same sort of half mirthful scorn which a man might be supposed to feel on being challenged by some impetuous boy; and thanking the gallant Duke for his courtesy, he bade him wait till the Spaniards had shoed their horses, and sharpened their swords. By this time the French were completely weary of a siege which produced and promised nothing; nor was any one more tired of the enterprise than Nemours himself, a gay and splendid prince, who loved war as a diversion, but understood it not as a science. At length, with his patience exhausted, by the calm perseverance of Gonzalves, yet not daring to attempt the storming of Barletta, he determined to decamp and undertake some other enterprise of a more hopeful complexion.

Gonzalves, however, did not suffer him to depart unmolested; and having discovered that the French General had sent on his artillery and infantry, and had also detached two considerable bodies of men in different directions, he instantly commanded a large corps of Spanish cavalry under an officer named Mendozza, to fall upon the rear of the French army, while two regiments of infantry were thrown forward in ambush.

No sooner did the French cavalry which formed the rearguard of Nemours' army, find themselves pursued, than wheeling about, they made one of those brilliant charges, for which the horse of that nation have always been fa-

mous. The Spaniards gave way, feigning to be overborne by the shock, and the French inconsiderately pursued them for a considerable distance. At that moment the Spanish infantry appeared, and, extending their flanks, completely insulated the rearguard of the French, while a fresh body of Italian cavalry coming to the aid of the Spaniards, the whole at once reassumed its order, and charged the French in turn with most fatal effect. The imprudent Frenchmen sustained the action for some time with much bravery ; but at length the greater part being cut to pieces or made prisoners, the rest were fain to turn their horses' heads, and make their escape the best way they could.

The small town of Castellanato, at a short distance from Tarentum, had been chosen by the Duke of Nemours as the chief magazine for his army before Barletta ; but he had imprudently neglected, either to secure it by fresh fortifications or by a garrison strong enough to put its safety beyond a doubt. The troops that were thrown into it were also of the most licentious class, and they soon contrived to inspire the inhabitants with so much horror and disgust, that in consequenee a deputation was sent to Gonzalves, offering to open the gates of the city to any force he might send for the purpose of delivering it from the contaminating presence of the French.

Gonzalves did not neglect the opportunity, and accordingly a strong body of Spaniards were admitted during the night, and the whole French garrison made prisoners in their sleep. The supplies found in the place were instantly transferred to Barletta, where they were much needed, and the Duke of Nemours was about the same time informed of the consequences of his own imprudence. Mortified and enraged he instantly marched upon Castellanetto, resolved to retake it whatever it might cost, but the Spanish garrison had been more prudent than the French. The burghers looked upon them as deliverers, and seconded all their efforts. Incessant works had been carried on to strengthen the fortifications of the place, and even when the cannon of the Duke's army had ruined the wall, which had been the only defence while he had occupied the town, he found he was just as far from success as when he had commenced the siege.

Resolved, however, not to be repulsed, he had given orders for storming the next day, and considering the im-

mense force he brought to the assault, as well as the small number of the garrison, it can hardly be doubted that he would have been successful.

Gonzalves, however, had not been idle during his absence, and without directly attempting to succour Castellanetto he took care that news should reach the Duke of Nemours which would compel him to raise the siege.

One of the strongest posts in possession of the French was the small town of Ruvo, situated at the foot of the Appenines. Nemours had taken care to furnish it with a garrison in proportion to its importance, and the famous Chabanes de la Palice, one of the best officers in the French service, commanded there, with three thousand chosen soldiers. Gonzalves, however, resolved, notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, that the absence of the Duke of Nemours should at least cost him Ruvo, and leaving but a small garrison in Barletta he marched with his whole army towards the Appenines, battered the wall of the city during one day, and then commanded a general assault. The French fought every inch of ground and even met the storming parties without the walls; but at length, after a combat of many hours, their general being wounded, and their numbers terribly diminished, they were forced to give way. The Spaniards penetrated into the town on every side, and a dreadful massacre took place, which it was impossible for some time to stay. At length, however, Gonzalves succeeded in stopping the effusion of blood, and returned the next day to Barletta in triumph, taking with him as prisoners not only the whole of the surviving garrison, but the greater part of the inhabitants of the town. The women, whom he had carried off for the purpose of protecting them from the soldiers he had left behind, not yet sated with the license of a storm, he sent back after a few days in all honour. From the men of the city he required a trifling ransom, but with regard to the troops, he refused to ransom them, in reprisal for some acts of a similar nature which had been committed by the Duke of Nemours.

The foot soldiers he sent on board the galleys, an act for which many persons have imputed to him a native cruelty of disposition, which in truth he did not possess. Gonzalves' excuse was the necessity of diminishing to the utmost extent the forces of the enemy, and the impossibility

under which he lay, of either guarding or feeding on land the prisoners he had made.

The news of the attack of Ruvo instantly caused the Duke of Nemours to raise the siege of Castellanetto, and to march to the assistance of la Palice. On his arrival, however he found that Gonzalves had prevailed, and that a strong garrison occupied the fortress for the King of Spain. This determined him instantly to take up a position at a small distance from Barletta, in such manner as to secure his own retreat, in case of necessity, and yet to straiten the supplies of Gonzalves as much as possible; but though he succeeded in his object in some degree, two new events soon occurred which forced him to change his measures precipitately. The first was the complete defeat and capture of Marshal d'Aubigny, near Gioia. That general presuming much too far upon the good fortune which had heretofore attended his arms, had offered battle to a superior force, composed of Spaniards and Sicilians, and with the usual fate of men who count upon the constancy of fortune, had met with a severe reverse, had seen his army routed and dispersed, and had been obliged to surrender, after in vain endeavouring to defend Angitola, to which place he had escaped after his defeat. This was not the only mortifying news which reached the Duke of Nemours about this time. Two thousand veteran Germans, raised by Octavian Colonna, under the sanction of the Emperor Maximilian, now arrived in Italy, and joined Gonzalves in Barletta. With such a reinforcement it was not likely that the Spanish general should confine himself in defensive posture any longer, and Nemours saw that it would need his whole strength to oppose, with any probability of success, a strong and well-disciplined army, headed by the most skilful general of the age.

He instantly therefore despatched messengers to call in the greater part of his detached forces, but especially to command the junction of Aquaviva, one of his steadiest friends and most prudent counsellors.

Gonzalves was at the same time preparing to issue from Barletta with all speed; for the reinforcement which he had received from Germany not only enabled, but compelled him to do so. Provisions, which had been procurable with difficulty for his former force, were not to be found in sufficient quantities after the arrival of the Germans, and

amongst these last, soon after their arrival, a contagious disease began to appear, which was attributed to the change from the inland climate of Germany to the bad air on the seacoast of Calabria.

Previous to any decisive movement, however, Gonzalves called in all the troops which could be spared from the different garrisons which he still maintained, and a strong body marched down to join him from Tarentum and the adjacent country, under the command of Navarro, and Errera. On their journey a party of Navarro's troops by chance intercepted a letter from Aquaviva, in which his purpose of joining the Duke of Nemours, and his line of march, was detailed at length.

The Spanish officers immediately determined to lie in ambush for him, and having well concerted their plan they succeeded in surprising the troops commanded by Aquaviva, cut great part of them to pieces, and either put to flight or made prisoners the rest. Amongst the captives was Aquaviva himself; and thus having deprived the Duke of Nemours of a strong reinforcement, and a valuable counsellor, Navarro and Errera proceeded with their prisoners and safely effected their junction with Gonzalves.

That General now marched forth from Barletta, and proceeded as quickly as possible, to take up a strong position, in order to give battle to the Duke of Nemours, by whom he doubted not that he should soon be overtaken. He turned his steps, however, towards Ceregnola, with the intention of besieging that town in case the French General did not choose to risk a battle. The movements of Nemours, however, soon showed that he sought no delay, and on the 28th of April, 1503, the Spanish and French armies appeared in sight of each other, ready to cast the whole hopes of the campaign on the issue of an evenings' strife. Gonzalves had taken advantage of a rise in the ground, and had also occupied an extensive vineyard, the ditch of which he had continued along the greater part of his line, fortifying himself still more securely by a low parapet of earth, behind which were dug pits, and stakes were planted, to embarrass the cavalry of the French. His infantry occupied the centre of the line, and the cavalry formed the wings. No battle has ever been more variously narrated, and all that seems certain is, that the attack began with the French; that the French were completely

defeated, and fled with most unseemly confusion; that the Spaniards suffered but little, and lost no officers of distinction; and that the French left several thousands dead, amongst whom were two general officers, Chandenier and the gallant Duke of Nemours himself.

In regard to the death of the latter there are as many and as various accounts of his death as there are of every other incident of that day. One author declares that the Duke in person led on the first charge of cavalry, and finding his progress stopped by the parapet and ditch, rode along the whole line, endeavouring to find a passage. In this attempt he was of course exposed to the fire of the whole of the Spanish infantry, and at length was struck by a ball which laid him dead upon the spot.

Another account, however, given by an eye-witness of the battle, states with more appearance of truth, that the Duke wished to lead on the charge, but was persuaded by his officers to refrain, and remained to issue his commands on a small mound commanding the whole field. When the battle had continued a short time, he saw the Swiss retreating in disorder after the death of Chandenier, and forgetting all but the enthusiasm of the moment, he put himself at their head, led them back to the charge, and getting mingled in the battle, soon found himself with a single attendant in face of a large body of Spanish arquebusiers. The dust was so thick that it was scarcely possible to tell friend from foe, and the Duke at first rode on to within twenty yards of their line. Escape was then impossible—the enemy's arquebuses were levelled, and to save the life of his lord, even at the expense of his liberty, the attendant vociferated the Prince's name, and offered to surrender, but in the confusion that existed, the Spanish infantry neither heard nor attended. They fired at once, and the Duke fell; while the soldiers passed on, not even knowing what they had done.

Battles can seldom be judged by their results. No country loves to own itself defeated, and even if there be possibility of denying the absolute fact vanity has a thousand ways of taking away the sting, and making the disgrace seem very like a triumph.

Such battles, however, as the battle of Ceregnola, leave behind them sufficient proofs to establish the claim of the

victor. The camp, the baggage, and the treasure of the French army fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and the party of France from that moment became feeble and languid throughout the rest of the war.

Gonzalves marched on rapidly for Naples, and met with but little opposition by the way. Place after place surrendered without resistance, and at many leagues distance he was met by deputies from the fickle inhabitants of Naples, congratulating him on his successes, and offering him the keys of their town. The entrance of the Spanish General into Naples was pompous and magnificent in the extreme, and he received immediately the oath of the principal inhabitants, who swore allegiance to Ferdinand on their knees, before his General. This assumption of almost royal state was doubtless ultimately the cause of suspicions in the breast of Ferdinand, which ruined the fortunes of Gonzalves. At present, however, his confidence in his victorious General was unbounded, and though peace between France and Spain was concluded and signed, yet Gonzalves, under the private orders of his wily monarch, continued boldly the war, taking fortress after fortress in Naples, which had long been nominally ceded to another. The duplicity of Ferdinand, in his whole negociations with France about this period, would be well worthy of record, had we space to trace it through all its manifold involutions. It must suffice us, however, to state, that he sent the Archduke of Austria, his son-in-law, to the court of France, with full powers to treat for peace. He discussed each article of the treaty with formal minuteness, and at length, after every plausible pretext, ratified the peace, when he had never for one moment entertained the least idea of ceasing hostilities, and only sought to gain time, that the reinforcements sent to the army commanded by Gonzalves might arrive in Naples. Gonzalves had his instructions also to continue the war, and consequently, though the Archduke, who had been completely deceived by his father-in-law, sent courier after courier to announce the peace and command an immediate suspension of arms; the Spanish General merely replied, that he had no authority from his own sovereign to pause, and therefore must proceed according to his first directions.

On the arrival of Gonzalves in the town of Naples, the French garrisons had retired into the various forts, con-

centrating their principal force in the two citadels, called, the one the New Castle, and the other the Castle of the Egg; and, expecting hourly succour from a fleet sent from Genoa to their aid, they prepared for a vigorous resistance. The same information which inspired them with resolution to hold out to the last, made it necessary for Gonzalves to force them to surrender without delay, and applying once more to the talents of Peter Navarro, he showed him the necessity of prompt measures, and desired his instant co-operation. Navarro did not fail his General at this moment of difficuly, but having resourse to the expedient which had so well succeeded at Cephalonia, he proceeded to mine the New Citadel, while Gonzalves battered and took a small fort called the Tower of St. Vincent. No sooner was the mine sufficiently excavated, than Gonzalves once more summoned the garrison to surrender, assuring them that, in case of his offer being rejected, he would, within five minutes, bury them under the walls of their castle. The practice of mining being then, as we have said, but little known, the French garrison laughed at the threat of Gonzalves as an absurd Spanish bravado. They had soon, however, reason to repent their incredulity, for, when the herald's return had given Gonzalves the assurance that his terms were rejected, he ordered the mine to be sprung, which was instantly done with terrible effect. The Spanish troops instantly rushed forward to the attack, penetrated at once into the outer ballium, and drove the garrison back sword in hand over the drawbridge, which they had no time to raise. No resource remained to the French but a vast iron door in the archway, which they instantly closed against their pursuers, and endeavoured to secure with bolts. A party of the Spaniards, however, had mingled with them in their flight, and had entered the inner court along with them. At the head of these was Gonzalves himself, fighting like a private soldier. He instantly collected his men in the archway: those who were attempting to fasten the the iron door were slain or driven back, and the barrier being thus removed, the Spaniards at once rushed in, and slaughtered all the French they found in arms. The plunder was immense, and the bloodshed terrible, though, from the moment the victory was assured, Gonzalves used all his authority to put a stop to both. He wished especially to preserve the magazine of provisions, but the regular pay

of his soldiers was much in arrear, and they boldly contended that they had a right to pay themselves by the plunder they could make. As they were willing, however, to sell at a very inferior price what they had acquired at the expense of their blood, Gonzalves, whose mind always hurried forward to provide for the future, repurchased from his own purse the stores necessary to supply the fortress for some time after he had garrisoned it with Spanish troops. The Castle of the Egg still remained to be taken, and Gonzalves immediately sent a flag of truce, representing to the commander the fate of his componions, and praying him, for the love of human nature, to spare him the pain of shedding more blood, by consenting to an honourable capitulation. Chavagnac, the govenor, was not to be intimidated; and, in reply to Gonzalves, he declared his readiness to follow the glorious example set him by the garrison of the New Castle. There being no resource, Gonzalves immediately commanded Navarro to mine; and, though the rock was of a harder and more impenetrable nature than any he had before attempted, every thing was complete at the end of twenty days. Willing, however, to make one more effort to save much bloodshed, Gonzalves again summoned the Governor, warning him of his danger. The reply was the same. The mine was then sprung; and it would seem that the very hardness of the rock gave it more intense and concentrated fury, for the whole castle was nearly laid in ruins, and a third of the garrison buried under the walls. It required, however, no small effort to take possession of the ruins, for each man of the garrison had made up his mind to die, and each man did die, where he stood.

The day after the fall of this last fort the French fleet appeared in the bay; but, finding the Spanish flag flying both on the city and on the forts, it steered towards Ischia, from which place it was again driven by the cannon of the fortress.

By this time, the bad faith of Ferdinand King of Spain had been chased through all its disguises, and obliged to show itself in its original shape. It now became evident to Louis XII. that the last thing desired by the Spanish monarch was peace; and, indignant at his treachery, he instantly commanded the ambassadors of Spain to quit his court, while; without delay, he drew upon all the resources

of his powerful kingdom to prepare for a war, which, based upon revenge and indignation, bade fair to be one of the most sanguinary and inveterate which had ever yet desolated the world. Of the five armaments which were instantly equipped for the attack of Spain in her different possessions, we can only follow two,—one of which, commanded by the Marquis de Saluces, was to proceed by sea, and to land at the first port open to the French in the Neapolitan kingdom,—the other, commanded by the famous Tremouille, which, entering Italy by the Milanese, marched also directly for Naples.

Pursuing his conquests, Gonzalves, after the reduction of the citadels which we have before mentioned, proceeded towards Caietta, in which place the French General Alegre had fortified himself after the defeat at Cerignola. The army of Spain, however, was hardly equal to the undertaking, even at the commencement of the siege, and was repulsed with considerable loss from the outworks which Alegre had constructed round the town; but, ere long, the improbability of success was changed to a certainty of failure, by the arrival of the Marquis de Saluces in the harbour, accompanied by six thousand men, and escorted by a fleet fully sufficient to keep open every channel of supply. Thus finding that no hope existed, of either taking the city by assault or forcing it to surrender by famine, Gonzalves retired in order te cover the extent of the country he had gained from the army of La Tremeuille, which was now marching forward through the States of the Church. The situation of the Spanish General had now become one of great difficulty and danger. Menaced on all sides by very superior armies, he had no prospect of immediate reinforcements, and was in total want of money to pay his troops. His forces he had been obliged to divide, in order to secure the strong places he had taken, and he could not call upon them to join the army under his own command without leaving all the fortress of the kingdom open to be taken instant possession of by a power who could far better afford to diminish its numbers than he could do himself. In short, with a very small force, he had to defend a large tract of country against a very superior enemy; and this under a jealous and suspicious sovereign, ever as prone to punish misfortune as he was disinclined to reward merit. To hesitate or to fear, however, was not in the nature of Gon-

zalves de Cordoba; and even while expecting every day the formidable army commanded by Saluces to be joined by the still more imposing force under La Tremouille, he lost not a moment's time, but called every single soldier to his standard that could be spared from the various garrisons.

With his army thus considerably increased, he was watching the movements of the enemy, when an event occurred that, by its consequences, threw infinitely greater power into his hands, and acted in some degree in counterbalancing the great preponderance of the French power in Italy. This event was the decease of Pope Alexander VI., poisoned, it is said, at a banquet, by a drug prepared by his own natural son for another person. The retribution whips us with our own vices. Alexander had, it is true, leaned to the side of Ferdinand, but the interest of his son, the famous Cæsar Borgia, had prevented him from following his inclination, and bound him unwillingly to the party of France. Through the influence of his authority, a multitude of Spanish noblemen served with their retainers, in the army by means of which Cæsar Borgia was endeavouring to make himself master of the North of Italy, and a great many of the chief families of Italy, afraid of encountering the united power of the Pope and the king of France, buried in their own bosoms their detestation of the name of Borgia. The death of Alexander, however, dissolved all such ties, and Gonzalves instantly strained every nerve, both to recal to the standard of their native sovereign such Spaniards as had fought—not against Spain, in truth, but in the ranks of her enemies, and to attach to his master every Italian, whom the death of Alexander had left comparatively free. In each of these endeavours he was eminently successful. The Spaniards joined him almost to a man; and the Orsini family, with all its friends and allies, led the way in declaring its attachment to the Crown of Spain.

In the meanwhile La Tremouille having fallen sick in the neighbourhood of Rome, had retired to Milan for the re-establishment of his health, and his troops paused on their road, both to wait his recovery, and to influence the election of the last Pope's successor. The hopes of Louis XII. were now raised to the highest point, in expectation of a nomination entirely accordant with his interests, which

would in all probability have placed the whole of Italy in his power. For this purpose he pressed upon the Conclave his admirable friend and minister the Cardinal d-Amboise ; but neither Louis nor the Cardinal were equal to cope in intrigue with the wily ecclesiastics of Italy. The Cardinal of St. Peter's, whose interest was great in the Conclave, promised all his influence to the French monarch, as well as Cardinal Sforza, the brother of the deposed Duke of Milan ; but both, of course, considered their own interest in the first instance, and Francisco Picoluomini, Cardinal of St. Eustacia, was unanimously elected by the Conclave.

No one could object to his elevation, as in life and manners he was exemplary, and in talents and learning equal to any of his competitors ; but still it is more than probable that the true cause of his election was neither to be found in his virtues or his genius, but rather in his age and his incurable infirmities. The death of Alexander had been sudden, and the Cardinal of St. Peter's, who destined the tiara ultimately for his own head, had not had time to prepare his party fully. He therefore joined his interest to the small body who favoured Picoluomini, and won over others to do the same, perfectly certain that the new head of the church would soon leave the papal throne vacant for himself.

As he had foreseen, so it proved, and he had barely time by his intrigues to insure himself success in the next election, before Pious III. descended to the tomb. The Conclave was immediately called, the Cardinal of St. Peter elected, and taking the name of Julius II. he declared himself at once the enemy of the French party in Italy.

Thus Fortune seemed willing to support the cause of Spain against all that menaced it, and Gonzalves took care that the efforts of the fickle goddess in his favour should be well seconded by his own activity. His first care was to snatch from the French, who still remained within the Neapolitan kingdom, those frontier passes which would have afforded to the invading army that was now every day expected, the means of marching unopposed into the heart of the country. This was not done without some severe fighting, but at length it was accomplished, and the Spanish general had time to fortify these advanced posts

in such a manner as to render them almost impregnable, before the French army appeared upon the frontier.

Manifold impediments had produced great delay in the movements of France. The continued illness of La Tremouille; the difficulty of fixing on his successor; the long pause before Rome, while the election of the new Pope was in agitation, and the countermarch which the French had been persuaded to make, upon the plea that the choice of the Conclave could not be free while they remained in its proximity; the badness of the roads, now that autumn was fully commenced, and the scarcity of provisions, which had been carried off by the peasantry: all these causes combined to retard the movements of the French army, and to harass it on its march; but it still consisted of nearly thirty-five thousand men—a force far superior to any that Gonzalves could bring into the field—and counted in its ranks the élite of the French chivalry.

The place of La Tremouille had however been very inefficiently supplied by the Marquis of Mantua, who had always hitherto fought against the French, and who both despised them, and was despised by them. He was a man of sense, but not of activity, and totally wanted the fire so necessary in every one who would lead an army of Frenchmen. He was also clearsighted and skilful, prudent and cautious; but he was as slow in action as he was in deliberation; and understood warfare theoretically, without having that quickness of application which can only make it successful in practice.

On arriving on the frontiers of Naples he turned off from the posts which Gonzalves had established in the Monte Cassino, declaring them impregnable, notwithstanding all the ardour with which the French officers combated such an opinion; and proceeding onwards towards the sea, proposed to cross the Garillano not far from the mouth. No boats being to be procured for the purpose of forming a bridge at the spot where the French prepared to pass, the Marquis de Saluces sent up with all speed a sufficient number from Gasta, and the bridge was begun in the sight of the Spanish army, which had proceeded step by step towards the sea with the French. The bank of the river on the side occupied by the French, commanding the position of the Spanish army, the cannon of the Duke soon obliged Gonzalves to retreat, and the bridge was accom-

plished without difficulty. It was now the universal demand amongst the French to be led instantly to the attack of the Spanish army, which, already retreating and annoyed by their cannonade, as well as inferior in number, offered as it would seem an opportunity never perhaps to be regained. The Marquis of Mantua however refused to comply, asserting that it was necessary first, not only to complete the bridge, but to guard it with strong entrenchments; which doubtless was true under other circumstances, but was not to be considered for a moment, when the onward road was open to almost certain victory. The French army was obliged however to retire to their camp, murmuring loud at their general; and before the next morning Gonzalves had attacked the bridge, cut to pieces those that defended it, and would probably also have succeeded in burning it, had not the artillery on the heights again opened upon him as day began to break, and forced him to abandon the attempt. The bridge however was injured greatly, if not completely destroyed; and this check, together with several others, the recapture of a fortress that had been taken from the Spaniards, and the cold inactivity of the Marquis of Mantua on all occasions, enraged the French to such a degree, that they passed from murmurs to open insult and complete rebellion. Nor was this insubordination confined to the ranks alone; the highest officers of the army had been in continual dispute with their general from the first moment of his assuming the command, till finding at length that he was every hour subject to insult, and could not insure obedience from one moment to another, the Marquis threw up the command, and retired with his own body-guard from the French service. A corps of ten thousand Italians shortly after followed his example and withdrew, a defection which threw the French into new difficulties, and even called upon the Marquis of Mantua a charge (probably unjust) of treachery towards the party which he abandoned. The Marquis de Saluces however was now called to the command of the French forces, and with a promptitude worthy of success, proceeded to do all that the inactivity of the former commander had left undone. Gonzalves attempted in vain to impede the construction of a new bridge, and of the redoubts to guard it; but finding that his efforts for that purpose were, and would still be ineffectual, he at once re-

treated and took up a position in the midst of a deep valley, about half a league distant from the bridge. Into this valley, the only way to Naples and Capua passed by a narrow ravine, which the French army could not attempt without exposing itself to be cut to pieces in detail.

Here Gonzalves maintained his position with the same heroic firmness which he had displayed at Barletta, though everything combined to try his resolution. The winter set in in the beginning of November, a thing unknown in that climate; the rain poured down upon him day after day, till the whole of his camp was under water and the valley surrounding him took the appearance of a lake; a contagious disease broke out amongst the soldiers; provisions became scanty, the clothing insufficient, and the streams rushing down from the hills washed away the fascines with which he had attempted to raise his encampment above the inundation; but still Gonzalves remained firm. His officers at length came to him in a body and remonstrated upon his perseverance in staying in a place which had already rendered his camp one general hospital. They reminded him of the mutiny which had taken place before Tarentum, merely from the pay being in arrear; they showed him that here the same thing was to be expected in a much more tremendous form, as not only pay, but provisions, cloathing, firing, comfort, and health were all wanting; and they proposed, finally, that he should retreat under the walls of Capua, where every necessary might be found in abundance, and the cannon of the city would secure his army from attack.

Gonzalves listened to them calmly, and replied with mildness, but firmly, that he had taken up that post for the purpose of shutting the entrance of the kingdom against the enemies of Spain; that he looked upon it as his bounden duty to maintain that post, and that were he by staying to die the next day of cold or pestilence, with a thousand other evils to make his death more miserable, he would rather do so than retreat one step, though that step should secure him a hundred years of life, blessed with all that health and fortune could do to make life happy.

No man ventured to reply, and such was the indefatigable zeal with which Gonzalves strove to ameliorate the condition of his troops—so continually did he labour for their benefit—such efforts did he make to drain the camp,

to procure abundant supplies, to cure and solace the sick—so little did he spare himself, and so nobly did he bear every privation as a common man, that not a murmur was heard, though misery, pestilence, and famine were raging in every tent.

In the mean while the French General having left a strong garrison in each of the forts he had established for the defence of the bridge, had retreated to a short distance from the river, and formed a strong camp for the winter, hoping that the inclemency of the season would oblige Gonzalves to abandon his position, and leave the passage open against the spring. The neglect and villany of the treasurers of the army, however, soon caused greater detriment to his army than the weather to that of Gonzalves. Suddenly all supplies of money from France ceased, and the Marquis de Saluces found himself without any means of providing for his troops. He instantly despatched couriers to Louis XII., who as speedily proceed to remedy the evil, and to punish the defaulters; but all this required time, and before it was accomplished immense desertions had taken place in the French army, and the Marquis had been obliged to spread his troops over a large space of ground, to obtain provisions for themselves the best way they could.

He was the less fearful of giving this liberty, as the bridge he had formed was still defended, and the news he received from the camp of Gonzalves, represented the fate of the Spanish army as still worse than his own.

Great changes nevertheless at length took place in the camp of Gonzalves, of which the Marquis did not receive information. Before Christmas three large and unexpected reinforcements had joined the Great Captain, and had increased his army to nearly double the number of that of France. The first that arrived came from the Emperor Maximilian, who hearing of the immense preparations of Louis, and fearful of losing all his influence in Italy if the French should be successful, had made every effort to raise a strong force to second the efforts of Gonzalves. The second reinforcement arrived from Spain, and ought to have joined the Spanish General long before, but had been delayed by various obstacles. The third was sent him by the noble family of Orsini, and was composed of the Italians who had abandoned the French after the retreat of the

Marquis of Mantua, joined to a body of veterans who had long served under Cæsar Borgia.

The defensive was no longer the policy of Gonzalves, and he instantly prepared to attack the camp of the French. Calling then his council together, he proposed to begin by storming the forts and forcing the bridge; and in this every one agreed but Alviado,* the commander of the Orsini troops, who represented to him that such an attack would instantly put the Marquis de Saluces upon his guard; that at present he was unprepared; and that by passing the river in secret higher up than the bridge, a certain and an easy victory lay before them. Gonzalves was ever wise enough to yield to reason, and his fame was too high for such concession to be dangerous to his authority. He therefore embraced the opinion of Alviado in opposition to that he had himself held, and merely modified it by leaving part of his forces for the attack of the bridge, while he prepared to pass the river with the main body.

The movements of the Spanish army were perceived by the French, but Gonzalves took care that these movements should apparently tend towards Capua, so that it was generally supposed in the adverse army that he was in retreat rather than advance. At night, however, he turned, and surprising one of the enemy's outposts, passed the river and marched upon the head quarters of the Marquis de Saluces. The French General was however warned in time that Gonzalves was advancing with a far superior force, and in consequence he sent orders to break up the bridge, while he himself retreated in good order upon Caiëtta. The light cavalry of the Spanish army, under Prosper Colonna hung upon his rear, but with little effect; while Gonzalves himself, with the main body, marched as fast as possible to force a battle before the French could reach a defensible position. In the meanwhile the troops left to break up the bridge did so in face of the Spanish rearguard, but either from orders to that effect, or from haste and confusion, they merely detached the boats without setting fire to them. The rearguard of the Spanish army instantly took advantage of this oversight, seized the boats as they were drifting down, reunited them into a bridge, and passing the river formed their junction with the main body.

* I find the name of this officer sometimes written Alviano.

Hitherto the French army had been sheltered by the narrowness of the road, which prevented Colonna from effecting any monœuvre of consequence; but before reaching Mola, the way opened out into a less difficult country, while the necessity of passing both the bridge of Mola, and a long defile between that place and Caiëtta, obliged the Marquis de Saluces to pause and make a stand against the Spaniards.

The cavalry which formed the rear of the French, was instantly attacked by Gonzalves, who had now come up; but though the Spaniards charged again and again with unremitting fury, the French chivalry sustained its reputation, and repelled every effort made against it. The spirit of Bayard seemed to have communicated itself to all bosoms in the French army, and he himself is said to have defended single-handed the bridge of Mola against the whole efforts of the Spaniards, till the French horse rallied to his assistance. A skilful manœuvre of Gonzalves, however, did more to defeat the enemy than all the impetuous attacks of his soldiery. Between Mole and Caiëtta, as we have before said, lay a long defile; and in the very beginning of the action the Spanish general had despatched a sufficient force to take possession of this passage, and cut off the retreat of the French. For some time this movement remained concealed; but at length, just as the French rear were giving way under the attack of the Spaniards, the Marquis de Saluces perceived the squadrons which were advancing towards the defile. Without reflecting on the risk of a precipitate movement, and both astonished and confused by the sudden danger that presented itself, he ordered his troops to make all speed towards the defile. The French horse were already broken and driven back by continual attacks, and this command they received as permission to fly. In an instant, all was rout and confusion; all order was gone, and the plain presented nothing but fugitives, who never dreamed of rallying, although many of them gained the defile before the Spaniards, and might have held it as a point of defence, which would have assured the safety of the whole army. Gonzalves gave instant orders for pursuit, and an immense number were slain, either by his own light cavalry, or by the peasantry; who, irritated with the rapine and violence which they had suffered from the French troops, showed them no mercy in their flight.

Marching on to Caiëtta, he found the outer works quite without defence ; and sending in to the town a summons to surrender immediately, he found that the Marquis de Saluces, who had retreated thither with a number of officers and the miserable remains of his army, was quite willing not only to deliver up the city and its fortresses, but to quit the kingdom of Naples. Gonzalves, with his usual liberality, granted terms much more favourable than might have been expected ; and thus terminated all the efforts of the fine and gallant army which had marched out of France not a year before. Its misfortunes, however, had not yet ceased. Those who endeavoured to reach France by land fell man by man by the way-side, and those who rather chose to trust to the sea soon became afflicted with a malignant fever, which either destroyed them ere they reached the shore, or left them with diseases which soon after terminated their existence. Pietro de Medicis, who had remained in garrison at Garillano, finding himself unable to defend the place, carried off all the heavy artillery, and put to sea; but scarcely had he quitted the shore, when one of the heavy squalls to which that sea is peculiarly subject took the ship unexpectedly, and, heavily laden as she was with an immense weight of cannon, she sunk with every soul on board. Thus misfortune seemed to mark out this unhappy army as her peculiar butt, where every one of her arrows were discharged successively ; and what between war, and famine, and pestilence, and shipwreck, and fatigue, of thirty-five thousand men who quitted France, not five thousand ever reached their native soil again.

In the meanwhile, Gonzalves returned to Naples ; and though for some time he had to struggle both with sickness and a new mutiny amongst his troops on the subject of their arrears, he soon contrived to free the kingdom of all the French who remained. Shortly after this, he received pressing letters from the infamous Cæsar Borgia, offering to put in his hands the greater part of Romagna and Tuscany, upon condition that he would free him from the hands of the newly-elected Pope, who kept him a prisoner in the Vatican. Cæsar Borgia, the son of Alexander VI., had inherited all his father's vices, and superadded a ferocity peculiarly his own. His debaucheries formed the fairest point of his conduct, though they surpassed that of almost any other being then living, but in point of treachery he

might have failed to find a rival either in ancient or in modern times, and in cruelty his only fit companion would have been Nero. Yet for his crimes it was not that Julius II. kept the son of his predecessor in bondage, but simply because the ambitious prelate sought to force from him those domains which by so many fearful acts he had acquired. It was under these circumstances that the prisoner wrote to Gonzalves, but at that moment the mutiny of his troops, and the impossibility of paying them, as well as the fear of involving his sovereign in an unjustifiable war, bound the hands of the Spanish General, and he refused the offer.

Cæsar Borgia, disappointed in his hopes, yielded to the will of the Pope, only stipulating for his liberty. After long negotiations, in which wile was employed against wile, and cunning contended with cunning, Romagna was given up, and Cæsar Borgia enlarged; though with the intention of arresting him again immediately. Borgia's spirit, however, was from its own nature prophetic of all treachery, and the moment he was free he made his escape to Naples, where he threw himself upon the protection of Gonzalves. The Spanish General received him with distinction; and well aware that the confusion and turbulence of the rest of Italy greatly aided to establish his sovereign's power in Naples, even if it did not open the way to new acquisitions, he aided Borgia with whatever money he could spare, and permitted him to levy troops for the conquest of various places on the confines of Tuscany. Cæsar Borgia hastened all his preparations, feeling that nothing could give him security but the command of an army, and desirous of quitting Naples as soon as possible. Silently, however, the Court of Rome had worked his destruction with Ferdinand of Spain, and a full detail of all his crimes had been laid before that King, with an earnest prayer from the sovereign Pontiff that he might be instantly arrested. Nearly fifty murders, besides a fratricide, were laid to his charge, with a thousand other crimes of minor degrees; so that Ferdinand and Isabella found themselves fully justified in securing the friendship of the Pope by punishing one of the most egregious criminals that the world had ever produced. A swift sailing galley was therefore instantly sent to Naples, to command his arrest, and entered the port on the very day of Borgia's last audience of Gonzalves. The

Spanish General, notwithstanding the knowledge of his commission, received the Italian with courtesy and distinction. Borgia, the deceiver, was himself deceived; and retired from the presence of Gonzalves elated with the hopes of sailing that very day upon his expedition; but in the antechamber of the Palace he was arrested in the name of Ferdinand, placed on board a galley, and carried into the ports of Spain. There he remained a close prisoner for some years; but having at length made his escape, he joined John of Albret, King of Navarre, and was soon after killed in a night encounter with the troops of Louis de Beaumont, Constable of Castille.

Similar reproaches were thrown upon Gonzalves in this affair to those which had been called forth by his detention of the young Duke of Calabria, but with far less justice. In the present instance he violated no vow, he violated no duty. It was not under his individual protection that Cæsar Borgia had placed himself, but under that of the crown of Spain. Whatever blame, therefore, attached, it was to Ferdinand, not to Gonzalves; and he fully justified himself in pleading the commands of his sovereign for the act he had committed. It would have been more dignified, perhaps, and certainly more candid, had Gonzalves caused the infamous Italian to be arrested the instant he had received the order, without descending even to momentary deceit. At all events, as far as the act of arresting him—an act certainly unjustifiable, inasmuch as Borgia was in no degree subject to the jurisdiction of Spain—the blame thereof must rest with Ferdinand, who commanded it, not with Gonzalves, who was but the passive instrument.

Several minor negotiations with the petty states of Italy succeeded the arrest of Borgia, but Gonzalves was successful in keeping himself at peace, and employed all the energies of his mind to wipe away the traces of conquest from the kingdom of Naples, and to attach the population to the crown of Spain, not by the frail ties of victor and vanquished, but by the more durable bonds of similar feeling and common interests. Reverses, however, were in store for Gonzalves, which made the close of his existence of a far different complexion from its course, as we often see the sun which has gone on shining in brightness through a long summer's day, sink down amidst clouds and tempests towards night.

The first shadow which came over his prospects was the death of Isabella of Castille, who had been to him at once a sovereign, a friend, and a protector. While she had lived, the envy which his successes and his merits had aroused, crept forth in silence, and dared not raise its voice above a whisper; but now it spoke aloud, and the jealous ears of Ferdinand were greeted at all hours with rumours of his general's designs. Some sought to ruin him with poisonous praise, representing to the King, his greatness as a warrior, his skill as a politician, his virtues as a man, and showed forth how deeply he had touched the hearts of the Neapolitans, how they adored the very ground he trod, and obeyed his lightest word as if it were a law. Others again more boldly accused him of peculation in the finances of the kingdom of Naples, and malversation of the soldiers' pay. And others still, represented the magnificence with which he lived, the benefits that he conferred upon his friends, the estates he granted to the Neapolitans of the Spanish party; and asked, what could be his design if it were not personally to seize the kingdom he had conquered for his master, and appropriate the sovereignty to himself? Ferdinand, himself the most subtle of men, possessed a heart which was the natural home of suspicion; and it is not wonderful that his jealousy of Gonzalves was easily awakened.

He wrote, therefore, commanding his return, upon pretence that he required his aid and counsel, but there were many motives which induced the Great Captain to evade the order. Ferdinand had reigned in Castille solely in right of Isabella. Now that Isabella was dead, her daughter succeeded to the crown of Castille; and the Archduke of Austria, her daughter's husband, claimed the government of that kingdom with as full a right as that by which Ferdinand had held it previously. The kingdom of Naples had been conquered by Castillian troops and with Castillian gold, and it seemed natural that it should rather belong to Castille than to Arragon. Gonzalves, therefore, paused till the claims of Ferdinand and the Archduke were finally settled, before he delivered up Naples to either. Whether he was ever tempted to seize upon that kingdom himself, and while others were disputing for their rights, to urge the strong claim of the sword, can hardly be told. At all

events he did not yield to the temptation; and though even the promise which Ferdinand made him of the rank of Grand Master of the order of St. James, the highest distinction in Spain below the crown, did not induce him to quit Naples till the question of its possession was determined, the moment the treaty was concluded between the King and the Archduke, yielding all the Italian dominions of Spain to the former, Gonzalves instantly took ship to obey the often repeated commands of Ferdinand. His long delay, however, had awakened the suspicions of the King to the utmost, and at the same time that Gonzalves was setting out for Spain, he was embarking for Naples to cut short the treasonable efforts he doubted not to find in progress. At Genoa, however, he found Gonzalves on his way to Spain, and so astonished was Ferdinand to see him there, that he remained silent for many minutes, overpowered by the sudden dispersion of all his jealousies and fears. When he did speak, however, it was to load Gonzalves with thanks and honours, and re-embarking they proceeded to Naples together. Here, though the conduct of the Great Captain himself removed all doubts of his integrity from the bosom of the King, the attachment which the Neapolitan people displayed towards him gave but little pleasure to the jealous monarch, and injured Gonzalves more in his regard than even the suspicions he had before entertained. Nor was the conduct of Ferdinand himself calculated at all to attach the Italians. He was mean, avaricious, exacting, and reserved; and after having chilled and disgusted the people that Gonzalves had not only conquered but won, he departed again for Spain, leaving strict orders for his General to follow him immediately.

By this time the Archduke was dead, and the whole government of Spain had fallen back into Ferdinand's hands, in consequence of the imbecility of the Archduchess. He had also endeavoured to unite the interests of Spain and France by marrying Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII., and on his return from Naples he had a personal interview with the French monarch at Genoa. Thither Gonzalves followed him, and the distinction with which he was treated by Louis, like the affection of the Neapolitans, did not tend to increase the love of Ferdinand towards him. After arriving in Spain, Gonzalves, who

under the orders of Ferdinand had refused the command both of the Papal and Venetian forces, now urged the monarch to fulfil the promise he had made of creating him grand master of the order of St. James. Ferdinand, however, now repented of his promise, and delayed its fulfilment under a thousand pretences. Gonzalves pressed for its accomplishment; and thus the successful General became odious in the eyes of him for whom he had won a kingdom. These things went on, and a thousand petty causes of irritation were added to the disgust subsisting between the King and Gonzalves.

The town and lordship of Loxa had, some time previous, been given to the Great Captain for his life; and thither he retired to pass his days in quiet, far from the intrigues and troubles of the Court, till such time as fortune, by rendering his services necessary, should insure more attention to his claims. That time did not fail to come; and Ferdinand, after seeing his forces, as well as those of the Pope and the Venetians, completely defeated by the French at the battle of Ravenna, was fain once more to call Gonzalves into action, and to give him the command of a great armament, with which he proposed to turn the tide of fortune in favour of Spain. But Gonzalves was never more destined to fight or to triumph. The army was already embarked, the wind had become favourable, and Gonzalves was about once more to set sail for Italy, when a messenger arrived from Ferdinand countermanding the departure of the fleet. News, it appeared, had reached him, which calmed his mind with respect to the fate of Naples. Other enemies had started up around Louis XII. and operated a complete diversion in favour of Ferdinand; and that crafty monarch, instead of employing his forces in the defence of places no longer menaced by an enemy, resolved to turn their efforts against Navarre, and to plunder another monarch of his right, as he had already robbed the kings of Naples. This expedition, and its change of destination, raised the hopes of Gonzalves, and then disappointed his expectations more than any other event of his life. However, though he lost, by the alteration of Ferdinand's schemes, the opportunity of winning new glory, the very appointment to command so large a force in Italy, gave the lie to all the accusations and surmises which had been founded on his recall from that country, and his subsequent disgrace at Court. Gon-

zalves strove hard to conceal his disappointment; and, in order to assuage that of the soldiers who were to have served under him, and who, like himself, suddenly found their expectations frustrated, he distributed amongst them presents to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns of gold. He then retired once more to Loxa, where he remained surrounded by many of the most noble and influential men in Spain.

Many rumours were of course spread of plots and schemes nourished by the disappointed general, in his retirement from the Court, and historians have even transcribed such rumours to their paper, without investigating the sources from whence they were derived. The strongest proof that Gonzalves did not plot, is that Ferdinand did not suspect him; for that jealous monarch was always far more ready to doubt where there was no cause, than to trust where there was a shade of doubt. Mariana, indeed, states that Gonzalves entertained a wish to join the Archduke Charles in the Netherlands, and Ferdinand forbade him, under his high displeasure, to fill his intent. This may possibly have been true; and it is possible, also, that Gonzalves may have contributed to thwart several of his ungrateful sovereign's projects. We know that he upheld Ximenes in his refusal to resign the archbishopric of Toledo, which Ferdinand sought to bestow elsewhere; and we also know, that he married his daughter Elvira, to the Constable of Castille, without obtaining, or even asking, the King's consent; but almost all the rest that has been advanced, respecting his schemes of rebellion, is merely hypothetical. One of the deepest prejudices of Gonzalves, mind, was the duty of implicit obedience to the will of his sovereign. In compliance therewith, he had risked even that fame which he sought so eagerly. Men may conquer their feelings or violate their principles; but they seldom —very seldom—overcome their prejudices to any great extent.

If, therefore, we suppose that self-interest and disappointment so far wrought upon Gonzalves, as to induce him to remonstrate, and even to upbraid his sovereign, in his own affairs; and to oppose his wishes, by argument and expostulation with others, we go as far as any tangible evidence, or even a knowledge of human nature in the want of such, will permit. But to believe in rumours unsupported, or to

give the authority of repetition to malice buried under the weight of ages, by raising up the mouldy scandals of the fifteenth century, is neither doing service to the living or justice to the dead.

Deeply wounded, though concealing his wound, Gonzalves retired to Loxa, where, in the rust of idleness, the sword wore the scabbard more than in the days of its most active employment—I mean, that his spirit, in its want of other occupation, preyed upon his body. Not long after he was attacked by a quartan fever, which at first seemed mild in its character; and he removed to Grenada for change of air.

In that city, however, the disease took a more serious form; and, on the second of December, 1515, he died in the arms of his wife and his only child.

A hundred standards, taken from the enemy, preceded his coffin to the tomb, and all the chivalry of Spain that could reach the spot, followed the Great Captain to his place of long repose. The enmity even of a King ended when death made gratitude cheap, and Ferdinand ordered a solemn service to be said for the dead warrior in all the churches of Spain—an honour only yet conferred upon the royal race.

It seemed, indeed, that this was that monarch's favourite mode of recompensing inestimable services. He gave Gonzalves a solemn mass, and Columbus a splendid tomb; after the one had given him a new kingdom, and the other a new world.

Gonzalves de Cordoba was tall, powerful, yet graceful in form and handsome in feature. He was of a robust and healthy temperament, and of moderate, though not abstemious habits. He was skilled in almost all exercises, and as capable of performing the part of a soldier as that of a general. In society he was easy and witty, yet grave and composed; while as a politician he was keen and penetrating; and as an orator, bold, powerful, and persuasive. In his military career, he showed consummate skill in his manœuvres, as well as prudence and firmness in his resolutions, tempered by deference to the opinion of others and frankness in yielding to reason and conviction. He was vigilant, active and daring; but, at the same time, cool, sagacious, and calculating. By the one he overthrew his enemies, and by the other he preserved himself. His per-

sonal courage was great, and perhaps he exposed himself, even in his latter years, more than was absolutely necessary; but he won the love and the confidence of his soldiers, by showing them that, on all occasions, he shared the same dangers and the same privations with themselves. He was always courteous, and would have deserved to be called liberal, had he not been both profuse and ostentatious. This was the only weakness which we find recorded of him, and his only crime was committed in the service of one who, of course, was ungrateful. As a warrior, none perhaps, under such unfavourable circumstances, had so few reverses; and, as a man, there are not many who have had fewer faults.

THE DUKE OF ALVA.

Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, sprung from one of the noblest families in Spain, was born in 1508, and served from his childhood under his celebrated relation Frederick of Toledo. From him he learned the art of war; and from him also, it is possible, he acquired in some degree that stern and cruel firmness which characterized his after-life, and those deep-rooted prejudices in favour of arbitrary power, which he himself believed to be virtuous though they prompted him to many crimes.

In his early career he became so marked for his courage and coolness in the field of battle, that ere he had reached the age of thirty he was raised to the rank of general by the Emperor Charles V. The famous truce of Nice, however, having put a stop to the war between France and Austria, immediately after he had been elevated to a station which entitled him to separate command, no very brilliant event distinguished the life of Alva for nearly five years. At length the murder of the French and Venetian Ambassadors by the Marquis del Guasto afforded a good pretence to Francis I. for breaking a disadvantageous truce, and all Europe was once more involved in war.

Of the five splendid armies which the immense exer-

tions of the French monarch brought into the field, one of the strongest and best equipped, consisting of forty thousand men, led by the Dauphin in person, was directed against the Spanish dominions of the Emperor.

The fine country of Roussillon, forming naturally a part of the French kingdom, had been but lately annexed to the crown of Spain, and Francis's first and greatest efforts were employed to recover a tract which it was dangerous to the peace of his dominions, and degrading to the honour of his throne, to leave in the hands of a rival and inimical power.

The army of the Dauphin, therefore, while the Duke of Orleans ravaged the territories of Luxembourg, and fixed the attention of Austria upon that province, marched at once into Roussillon, and advanced with scarcely any opposition upon Perpignan. That city, though of immense importance, was then weakly fortified, but the famous Andrew Doria, on the first news of its danger, had thrown into it immense supplies from Italy, and Alva had been appointed to hold it out as long as possible.

No one could have been better calculated to fulfil the duties of such a station than the young Toledo. Brave and hardy as a soldier, he was cool and skilful as a commander, and resolute, determined, unchangeable as a man. The attack on the part of the Dauphin was vigorous and persevering, and three months were spent in active but unsuccessful efforts to capture the city. The French with their accustomed courage marched up continually to the assault of weak and insufficient fortifications, but the cool steady resistance of the Spaniards, and the obstinate valour of their commander, uniformly provided insurmountable obstacles; every attempt to storm was repelled with loss; and after seeing a great part of his troops perish by disease, or fall in fruitless engagements, the Dauphin was obliged to raise the siege, and abandon the country he had been sent to conquer.

The skill and determination which Alva displayed in the defence of Perpignan, showed him well fitted for the service of a cold and calculating master, and together with his success, raised him high in the favour of Charles, whose friendship always hung upon his interests, and whose affections extended not beyond the consideration of himself. It was not long before a man of Alva's relentless nature and despotic prejudices was required, to serve the mingled pur-

poses of policy and revenge of which his imperial master was sometimes capable. The Elector of Saxony had done more than enough to render himself hateful in the eyes of Charles V. The head of the league of Smalkalde, the leader of the Protestant forces, the rival of Charles in power, and the barrier against his exactions; by his influence if not by his skill, by his courage if not by his activity, he had for long supported the reformed religion, and saved the liberties of Germany.

In return, Charles had boldly placed him under the ban of the Empire without the authority of a Diet, which, according to every principle of German jurisprudence, was necessary to give force to this sort of legal anathema. Maurice of Saxony, the kinsman of the Elector, had treacherously leagued with the Emperor, and only authorized by the illegal ban which Charles had issued against his cousin, had taken possession of his hereditary dominions. The Elector then, with the Protestant army opposed to the Imperial forces, was forced by the prayers of his people to return and defend his territories from the oppression of his base relation; and the league of Smalkalde, thus shaken by a separation of its troops, was almost immediately dispersed. The various princes of which it had been composed, in general submitted to the Emperor, and Charles, freed from his greatest apprehensions, prepared to follow the Elector of Saxony, and support his ally Maurice in possession of his usurped power.

Various causes, however, occasioned a delay in his movements. The papal troops, which had hitherto swelled his armies against the Protestants, were now suddenly recalled; a conspiracy had broken out in Genoa, which he could hardly persuade himself was unsupported by some great foreign power, and the intention of the King of France became apparent, once more to oppose the increasing influence of the house of Austria by a renewal of war. Under such circumstances Charles hesitated to involve himself in new efforts against the Elector, and that prince had time to drive forth his treacherous kinsman from the places he had taken, and to repossess himself of his rightful dominions. At length the death of the King of France, and the fruitless unravelling of the Genoese conspiracy, freed Charles from all foreign apprehensions, and he at once began his march against the Elector. His army, though not con-

sisting of more than sixteen thousand men, was formed of veteran troops and experienced officers, and though the forces of the Elector were numerically superior in an immense proportion, his officers had but little of the skill, and his men little of the habit of war. He himself also, though possessed of chivalrous bravery and great personal resolution, was slow and difficult in counsel, and unskilful, and dilatory in the field. With strange and unaccountable imprudence, he separated instead of concentrating his forces, and neither pursued a bold plan of activity, which might have given victory to his unexperienced troops by impetus, nor followed the more cautious policy of protracting the war, which would have insured the enemy's defeat by the difficulties of the country and the want of resources. Charles advanced with more boldness than usual, eager to take advantage of his opponent's faults and irresolution. The indefensible towns in which the Elector had scattered his troops, were taken one by one; and with hardly any opposition, Charles arrived on the banks of the Elbe, nearly opposite to Mulberg, where the rearguard of the Elector was stationed. The banks were high, the river broad and rapid, the passage difficult, and the adverse force strong, but Charles, with a daring impetuosity he rarely evinced, determined immediately on attempting to cross and attack the enemy. All his officers combated this resolution, and none more than Alva, who though as daring as youth, when the palm of success was evidently held out to boldness, followed a more cautious line of conduct where any doubt obscured the way. The Emperor, however, was decided, the river was passed in the face of the detachment left to guard against such an event, and Charles hastened forward to attack the main body of the Saxon forces, which were only a few miles distant.

Either treachery or want of precaution had left the Elector in ignorance of the movements of his enemy, and Charles had passed the river before his opponent was aware of the attempt. When the matter was beyond doubt, however, an order was given to the Saxon army to retreat, but before the execution of this command was practicable, the imperial forces were in sight, and retreat was no longer possible. Compelled to action, the Elector now displayed that spirit and energy which had it been previously exerted, would have saved his dominions and himself. His

troops, however, were disheartened by an intercepted flight, and his enemies were inspired by a fresh success. Thus, notwithstanding skilful arrangements and desperate courage on his own part, his army was completely routed, and he himself made prisoner. In the exultation of victory Charles received him with undignified and ungenerous rudeness; but a deeper and more disgraceful scene was about to be acted between the insolent conqueror and his noble prisoner.

The unhappy Elector was carried in triumph through his own dominions to the gates of his capital city of Wittemberg, which, strong by nature and by art, promised to set Charles's scanty army at defiance, unless some other means were employed than the ordinary efforts of siege.

The Electress, with a considerable body of troops, and the Electoral Prince, who had escaped, though wounded, from the field of Mulhausen, held out the town, and to the Emperor's summons to surrender, and threats in case of refusal, replied by informing him that whatever he inflicted upon the Saxon Prince should be visited upon the head of his creature Albert of Brandenburg, who was a prisoner in their hands. To retire unsuccessful from the walls of Wittemberg would have been a disgrace to the arms of the Emperor for ever, and an attempt to convey to the spot the means for carrying on a regular siege having failed, Charles had recourse to an expedient which has only been used by tyrants and barbarians. He threatened to take the life of the Elector, if his capital was not immediately surrendered; and to convince his beleagured family of his firm determination, a court-martial was immediately called to sentence a sovereign Prince, whose legal judges could only be found in a Diet of the Empire. No one could be better fitted than the Duke of Alva to preside over a tribunal, authorized alone by power, and to pass the doom of death upon a fellow-creature, whom he had no title to try. Charles appreciated his general justly, and named him president of the court-martial on the unfortunate Elector of Saxony.

Doubtless the others whom he called to share in the judgment-seat were equally well selected. As the court was a mockery so was the trial. The whole proceedings were based upon the ban of the empire, into the legality or illegality of which the judges of the Elector did not think fit to inquire, and a band of Spanish and Italian officers, under the direction of the Emperor, passed sentence of

death upon the greatest of the German princes. The Elector was engaged in playing at chess when his doom was announced to him—a doom which reflected equal disgrace on the men by whom it was decreed and the monarch by whom it was instigated.

The victim, however, received it without a change of countenance, and paused in his game only to point out the illegality of the proceedings under which he was condemned, to protest against the tribunal, and to express a hope that his family would not suffer his fate to make them less bold in the defence of their rights. He then resumed his occupation, and played on with as much skill and coolness as before.

The danger, however, which could not shake the firmness of the Elector, overwhelmed the resolution of his wife, and her tears and persuasions produced that which the threats of his great enemy had not been able to effect. The Elector yielded; and for the sake of those he loved, agreed to save a life that he little valued, at the expense of power, dignity, and liberty. The treacherous Prince Maurice was installed in the halls of his injured kinsman, and the Elector remained a prisoner: but circumstances afterwards changed, and in the evening of his days he was released, to display in a humbler station, and more peaceful times, the virtues which he had evinced as a sovereign in periods of difficulty and danger.

The next act of arbitrary power, in the execution of which Alva was engaged, was the unjust and treacherous detention of the Landgrave; but on this occasion he acted merely in obedience to the orders he received, without assuming the character of a judge or prostituting the name of justice.

Charles V. had now apparently triumphed over all the internal opposition which had so long clogged his active ambition, and he seemed free to pursue those great schemes of external policy which he had long formed, for the aggrandizement of his own power and the depression of the neighbouring monarchs. But the eyes of the world had not been shut, and the great preponderance which he had already obtained had awakened the jealousy of other European kings. At the same time, Maurice of Saxony repaid the benefits he had received as such benefits deserved; put himself at the head of the Protestant party, leagued

with Henry II. of France; and after deceiving the Emperor by a long course of unparalleled subtlety, he raised the standard of revolt in the heart of Germany. His ally Henry II. without delay marched into Loraine, took possession of Verdun, Toul, and Metz, and threatening the frontier of the empire brought about an effectual diversion in favour of the Protestants. Maurice pursued his scheme with vigour; and taking the Emperor by surprise, forced him into a treaty of peace, in which the interests of France were very little considered. Treacherous alike to all, Maurice cared little about his ally the King of France, when once the object for which he had contracted that alliance was obtained.

While the treaty was in progress, the Emperor, in hopes of being able to delay it till he had collected a sufficient force to oppose Maurice by arms, had been busily engaged in making fresh levies through all his dominions; and when the skill, activity, and clear-sightedness of his adversary had baffled all his arts and forced him to ratify the peace, these troops still remained prepared to carry on the war against France.

Eager to avenge the insult which had been offered to his frontier, and to recover those important towns which had proved in many instances not only the bulwark of Germany in the north, but an inlet into the most valuable provinces of France, Charles spared no pains and no expense to complete his army, and to bring it into the field as rapidly as possible. Nearly a hundred thousand men were thus collected; and to conceal the true object of his preparation, he spread various reports concerning the destination of his army, till the direction of its march left no longer any doubt of his real intentions.

The King of France immediately made every exertion to secure the territory he had acquired; and Charles, as soon as he found that his designs were discovered, hurried forward as fast as possible towards Champagne, giving the chief command of his forces, under himself, to the Duke of Alva. Metz, of course, as the strongest and most important city on that line of frontier, was the first destined to attack; and towards the end of October, A. D. 1552, the whole forces of the Empire sat down before it, and invested it in form. The gallant Duke of Guise, however, had been charged with its defence by Henry II., and had previously

employed every means to render its natural strength still more formidable. He destroyed the immense and untenable suburbs, he enlarged the narrow fosse, he repaired all the old and the long-neglected fortifications, and erected new ones of greater extent and more scientific construction. The soldiers and workmen he encouraged to almost superhuman efforts, by labouring with his own hands at the most difficult and the most inferior works, and the people he reconciled to the destruction of their property, at once by his popular and fascinating manners, and by his chivalrous abandonment of all personal comfort and individual consideration. Such were his preparations for resistance, and on the arrival of the imperial army, the same vigour characterized his movements. Sally after sally interrupted the progress of the besiegers, and every breach which the German artillery effected in the walls was instantly repaired, or rendered impracticable by new fortifications. The Emperor Charles himself, attacked by a violent fit of the gout, lay ill at Thionville; but Alva, although he had strongly remonstrated against undertaking so difficult an enterprise at so late a period of the year, did everything that a soldier and a general could do, to make that enterprise successful. But the courage of the garrison, the active energy of the Duke of Guise, the inclemency of the season, and the sickness of his troops, rendered all the measures of Alva fruitless; though those measures are allowed to have been conceived with no small military skill. After a siege of two months, the Emperor was obliged to break up his camp and retreat, while Guise marched along the frontier, and prevented the imperial army from striking one blow of any importance, notwithstanding all the great preparations which had preceded the expedition.

The arms of France were not less fortunate in the south than they had been in the east; and the whole of the Austrian territory in Italy seemed likely to fall under the dominion of Henry II. To counteract the French efforts in Piedmont, a general of acknowledged abilities was required; and the choice of the Emperor again fell upon the Duke of Alva. This choice, it is said, was as much influenced by the jealousy of a rival, who wished to remove Alva from the court, as by his general reputation. Of this fact the Duke was well aware, and was no less conscious of the great disadvantages which might arise to himself from a long ab-

sence. But the expedition was one of difficulty and danger, and Alva's sense of military honour was too high to permit of his declining a perilous enterprise on any consideration. He nevertheless made high demands, in regard to the power with which he was to be invested. These were all granted, and he was consequently despatched to Italy armed with unlimited authority.

His first operations, however, were less successful than his former conduct had led his sovereign to expect. Marechal Brissac, to whom he was opposed, still continued to obtain considerable advantages; and the first campaign closed without any improvement of the Austrian prospects in Italy.

A truce, however, having been concluded between the King of France and Philip the Second,—who having now succeeded to the throne of Spain, had become Alva's sovereign—the war in Italy for a short time seemed concluded; but the ambition and arrogance of the Pope Paul IV. soon dispelled such hopes, and by leaguing with the French king to deprive Philip of the territory of Naples, he compelled the Spanish monarch unwillingly to draw the sword against the head of the Roman church. Alva, who was as superstitiously scrupulous in his reverence for the see of Rome as Philip himself, willingly temporized and negotiated till he received his sovereign's commands to march into the Ecclesiastical States. Then, however, he showed that the moderation of his master and himself had proceeded from no want of power to defend or chastise. At the head of a small party of chosen troops, he entered the territory of the Church, and made himself master of the Campagna, taking city after city by the way. The Pope, though furious with his reverses, was now compelled to temporize, and by taking advantage of Alva's bigotry, contrived to obtain a truce, during which he pressed his ally the King of France to hurry the march of the auxiliaries he had promised.

Reinforcements indeed, soon reached Italy, commanded by the great and noble Duke of Guise, who was received at Rome in triumph, and instantly prepared to renew the war. But that commander, on examining the preparations made by the Pope, found that they were far inferior to what he had been led to expect, and that the representations which had brought him into Italy, were in every

respect fallacious. Nevertheless, urged by the eager animosity of the Pontiff, he marched towards Naples and laid siege to a small frontier town, but without success. The Spanish commandant of Civitella displayed the same bold and active spirit of resistance which Guise had himself exhibited at Metz; and the French general was obliged to retire and endeavour to retrieve the disgrace of failure by striving for success elsewhere. With this view he turned towards the Spanish commander-in-chief, who by this time had renewed his warlike operations against the Pope; and by a rapid march compelled Alva to resume the defensive. He did so, however, with so much success, that though the Duke of Guise with far superior forces advanced towards his camp, and strove to force him to a battle, yet the Spanish commander maintained his position, frustrated all the movements of the enemy, and secured the territories of Spain from all farther aggression. In the meanwhile, Philip in person had won the famous battle of St. Quintin; the Duke of Guise was recalled suddenly from Italy, and the Pope, left without support, was fain, notwithstanding all his arrogance, to treat with the monarch he had offended. Philip, whose superstitious veneration for the head of the church was more real than that of most monarchs of his day, gladly acceded to all the terms of the Pontiff, even to humiliation and apology; and Alva as a suppliant repaired to Rome, and implored the forgiveness of him whom he had conquered.

On the day that Alva entered the city the Duke of Guise quitted it, and it was strange to see the victor acting as the vanquished; and the defeated general, returning to his native land, to be received with all the honour and joy of a triumph. Nor is it a less singular fact in regard to Alva, one of the proudest and one of the firmest men of his age, that, on approaching the Pope his voice trembled and his composure was lost; a trait of character on which I wish to dwell, as it evinces the care with which superstition must have been implánted in his mind by early education, and naturally connects itself with the cruel bigotry of his after-conduct in the Low Countries.

To this war shortly succeeded the celebrated treaty of Cateau Cambresis, by which Henry II. of France yielded the fruits of many a long expedition and hard-fought field; and in the month of June the Duke of Alva proceeded to

Paris, as proxy, to espouse for Philip the unhappy Elizabeth of France, who had been formerly affianced to the infant Don Carlos.

An entirely new scene, however, was about to open before Alva. Nothing was more painful to the feelings of the bigoted monarch of Spain, than to behold the progress which the Reformation was making in his Belgian dominions; and, resolved to crush the rising spirit of the people, he sought a man as superstitious, as merciless, as stern as himself, to press down the weight of tyranny upon the devoted heads of his Flemish subjects. To superstition, cruelty, and inflexibility, it was necessary that the instrument of his despotic will should add the military talents which might be required, if the people should strive under their burden, or other nations should interfere to relieve them. For every purpose of his heart, he could have chosen none better than Alva; and instead of dissuading his imperious master from his purposed tyranny, that general urged him to it by every argument calculated to work upon the revengeful and intolerant mind of the Spanish King. Many bold and noble counsellors had dared to oppose advice and remonstrance to the monarch's inclination; and had warned him that, by pursuing the violent and arbitrary course to which he leaned, he risked the loss of some of his most valuable provinces. Alva, however, was by far too superstitious in his adherence to the Romish church, to view the Reformers in any other light than as detestable heretics, and too prejudiced as an instrument of arbitrary power, to regard an effort for freedom as anything less than rebellion. He was at once, therefore, the counsellor and the executor of Philip's schemes of oppression. His advice was preferred to that of more moderate or more prudent courtiers, and with a force sufficient to overawe the discontented Belgians, that general marched into Brussels in the summer of 1567.

It would be both too long and too painful to enter into the minute detail of all the cruelties, persecutions, and proscriptions, which the heartless bigot inflicted on the unhappy people of the Netherlands. Consternation and terror pervaded the whole country on his arrival, and blood, massacre, and desolation, spread over the face of the land around him. Happy were those Protestants who could hasten into exile; for the flaming sword of persecution

was behind them, and neither rank, nor age, nor sex, was a protection. In a very short space of time, more than two thousand people fell by the hands of the executioner; at the head of whom were the noble Counts Egmont and Horn; who had endeavoured, though too feebly, to rescue their devoted country from its merciless tyrant. Every species of torture that the diabolical genius of the inquisition could invent was employed to punish those who professed a different faith; and even the detestable activity of the Holy Office, not being found sufficient, a Council of Tumults, as it was called, was instituted, to aid in the more speedy punishment of the refractory. The Duchess of Parma, who had hitherto exercised the office of Regent, retired from a scene of horrors which was soon to become a scene of civil wars; and Alva, invested with immense and extraordinary powers by his sovereign, speedily drove the whole country into general revolt.

The first great effort of the Protestants of the Low Countries was made by the noble house of Nassau, led by the Prince of Orange. It is probably seldom that, in the course of human action, any deed is prompted by one motive alone, and in the case of the Prince of Orange many incitements may have combined to urge him into resistance against the cruel tyranny of Alva. Patriotism, individual revenge for personal persecution, and latent projects of ambition, may all have influenced his conduct in a degree; but the effect was a wise, noble, and energetic defence of the rights of his fellow-countrymen, and Alva soon found that he must call forth all his powers to contend with the great mind opposed to him.

Prince Louis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange, first took the field; and, accompanied by a body of Flemish exiles and German mercenaries, he entered the Netherlands, and gained a complete victory over a detachment sent by Alva to oppose him.

At the same time the Prince of Orange and other members of the House of Nassau, made every effort in neighbouring countries; but in the end, the genius and the force of Alva triumphed over all the power they could raise, and for some time upheld him in the painful situation of a detested, dreaded, conquering tyrant.

Prince Louis of Nassau was defeated in the first regular attempt to oppose him in person. Immediately after the

condemnation of the Counts Egmont and Horn, Alva, warned of the prince's march and previous success, set out with a considerable force in order to fight the enemy, who was already in the field, before the Prince of Orange also could come up. Prince Louis had taken up his position with great skill, and had fortified it with great care; but the rapidity of Alva's march brought him to the ground before the country could be inundated by breaking down the dykes. The Germans in the Prince's army mutinied in the moment of need. Alva had information of everything, was ready instantly to take advantage of his enemy's embarrassment, attacked him in his intrenchments, and gained a complete and signal victory, with the loss of but eighty men. The army of the Prince was scattered like chaff before the wind, and nearly seven thousand fell by the sword.

Shortly after, the Prince of Orange, who had gathered together a force even superior to that of Spain, advanced towards the Low Countries; passed the Rhine unopposed, and directed his march upon Liege. Finding that town less favourably disposed than he had anticipated, he determined upon crossing the Meuse, and forcing the Spanish general to a battle. Alva, however, guarded the bank of the river with watchful care; and, even after the Prince had succeeded in crossing the stream during the night, so sedulously avoided a battle, that his adversary could by no means attack him but with infinite disadvantage to himself. Perfectly aware of all the difficulties of his enemy's situation, Alva determined to wear him out. He followed him continually, cutting off his supplies, harassing his rear, embarrassing his movements, and always at the same time entrenching himself with such skill, that no danger could result to his own army.

No general ever conducted a campaign with more consummate art, activity, and energy, than the Duke of Alva on the present occasion.

William of Orange also displayed great abilities, and great resolution; but his troops were raw and refractory, his opponent acute and talented, and at length he was forced by the persevering skill of Alva to disband his troops, and at once retire into exile.

The arrogance and cruelty of Alva rose with his good fortune, and no bound seemed put to his exactions. Both for the gratification of his own vanity, flattered by success,

and for the purpose of making that success appear still more tremendous in the eyes of the oppressed Flemings, Alva caused medals to be struck, and statues to be wrought, commemorating his own triumphs, and the failure of those who had attempted to restore liberty to Belgium. At the same time he applied much of his time to purposes which do more honour to his name than his victories, and which, had they been worthily pursued, would have acted in some degree as a compensation for the effects of his many crimes. He endeavoured to regulate and extend the trade of Flanders, and to prevent the corruption of the current coin, but at the same time he neutralized every advantage which the very wish of benefiting the commerce of the country might have produced, by loading the people with grievous and illegal taxes, which at once burdened traffic, agriculture, and manufacture. Even the Catholic inhabitants of the country now became subject to the most rigorous taxation: the goods of foreign merchants were seized in the sea-ports, and such cities as in any shape resisted his demands, were punished by receiving strong bodies of troops, licensed to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants.

His cruelty and arrogance had rendered Alva detestable in the eyes of the people; but it required oppression which came generally home to the hearts of all, to drive the country again into revolt. This oppression was felt in the new and ill-judged taxes, by which he sought to keep up the military force, which he had no other means of paying; and intrigues with the exiled Protestants, followed by risings in various considerable cities, were the immediate results. The important town of the Brille, was taken about this time by the exiles; and Count Bossut, sent to re-capture it by Alva, miscarried in the attempt, and had the mortification, in his retreat, to see place after place shut its gates against him, and raise the standard of freedom. The spirit spread far and wide. Flushing joined those cities already in a state of rebellion. The whole of Zealand, a part of North Holland, Leyden, Dort, Haerlem, and many other towns throughout Overyssel and Friesland, shook off the Spanish yoke.

At the same time, Count Louis of Nassau, who had long been apparently inactive in France, suddenly entered the Netherlands with five hundred horse and a thousand mus-

keteers, and by stratagem made himself master of Mons, the capital of Hainault.

Alva for a time remained undecided, whether he should march to put down the rebellion in the North, or at once attack Mons, and check any further attempt upon the southern frontier. He determined upon the latter, and soon after besieged that city in form. With the most extraordinary care, he shut up all the avenues of access, and entrenched his camp in the strongest possible manner. His precautions were not without cause, for William Prince of Orange was already once more in the Low Countries, and was advancing with a strong and increasing army to the relief of Mons. The Prince marched on as a conqueror; and by force or stratagem he gained possession of Ruremond, Mechlin, Nivelle, Diest, Sichem, Tillemont, Dendermond, and Oudenard. It is but just, however, to acknowledge here, that, if the soldiers of the Duke of Alva committed great excesses in the towns they took during the civil war, those of the Prince of Orange conducted themselves with as little moderation, and perpetrated as many atrocities under the plea of religious zeal. There is little difference in general, between the intemperance of superstition and that of fanaticism; and the first excesses of newly-liberated slaves have almost always been more dreadful, than the most frantic acts of despotism. The army of the Prince still advanced, and in a very short time appeared before the camp of the Spaniards in battle array.

The Spanish troops were eager to quit their lines and give battle to the Germans; but Alva had formed his plan for the reduction of the city upon other grounds, and neither all the endeavours of the Prince of Orange, nor the solicitation of his friends and officers, could induce him to hazard even an unnecessary skirmish.

At the same time he took care that no succour should penetrate to the town, and skilfully repelled every effort to introduce it. The hopes of relieving Mons were thus frustrated, and after making an attempt to storm the Spanish lines, in which he was repulsed with great loss, the Prince was obliged to retire, and leave the city to its fate. Alva immediately quitted his intrenchments, followed the motions of the Prince's army, prevented his return, harassed his retreat, and finally, after having made a severe night attack upon the Germans, he returned to the siege, and

pressed it on every side with redoubled energy. The Prince of Orange was soon obliged to disband his army: Mons fell, after holding out a brief space longer, and the Duke turned his arms in other directions.

We shall not pursue the details of the succeeding campaigns. At the siege of Mons, Alva displayed fully the peculiar characteristics of his genius as a general, namely, resolution, firmness in whatever plan he had adopted upon mature reflection, activity in drawing the greatest positive advantage from the success of his schemes, and cool prudence in risking nothing without some certainty of great compensation.

Mechlin was now retaken by the Spanish troops; and though in fact it surrendered without resistance, all the horrors of a town captured by storm were inflicted on the defenceless inhabitants. The health of the Duke himself had been declining, and he now left the chief command of the army to his son Frederick of Toledo, who proceeded from city to city, avenging the least opposition by bloodshed and rapine.

From most of the towns in which the Prince of Orange had placed any body of troops, the garrisons fled on the first approach of the Spaniards; but Zutphen offered some resistance, and though, at length, the German forces which it contained retreated, and the inhabitants immediately opened their gates to Toledo, scenes of massacre and lust were perpetrated, which no language has power to reprobate sufficiently.

The terror of these dreadful excesses spread through the country; and as Toledo advanced, one town after another sent messengers to assure him of their obedience, and to deprecate his anger. Where unconditional submission was immediately made, Toledo acted with moderation; but the least resistance inflamed his brutal anger almost to madness. The people of Naerden made but a show of opposition; and then, immediately repenting, submitted upon a promise of pardon, given by a person appointed to treat with them by Toledo himself. But the treacherous general violated without remorse the engagement of his agent, indulged his soldiers in every species of rapine and violence, slaughtered the citizens, and gave the city to the flames.

So far he advanced, at once cruel and triumphant; but

at length, Haerlem offered an obstacle to his progress, which for a time seemed insurmountable. The inhabitants defended themselves with an all-enduring courage, which set his most vigorous efforts at defiance, and but for the earnest and reiterated commands of his father, he would probably have raised the siege. At length, however, upon a promise of quarter, the garrison surrendered, and the Spaniards took possession of the town. What followed, offers an instance of cool perfidious cruelty, perhaps unequalled in the records of the world. The garrison and the inhabitants were shut up in separate churches, and taught to believe, during three days, that no infraction of the terms would take place. At length, however, Alva himself arrived, and in cold blood determined with his son the massacre of the greater part of their prisoners. Three hundred Waloons were first butchered, then followed the death of the greater part of the principal citizens. None of the foreign soldiers even were spared; and when weariness compelled the murderers to lay down the steel, they tied their unhappy captives two by two, and drowned them in the Sparen; neither did the sick or the wounded find mercy; but dragged from the hospital into the court-yard, they were slaughtered as they lay.

The siege of Alcmaer was next determined upon; but here the arms of the Spaniards were completely unsuccessful. The fate of the garrison and people of Haerlem, was a warning to all who had once begun resistance, to carry it on to the death. The inhabitants of the town repulsed the first furious attack of the Spaniards with great slaughter; and the Duke of Alva, having received intelligence that the Hollanders were about, by opening their sluices, to inundate the whole country round, commanded his son to raise the siege, and disperse his troops in winter quarters.

Alva had long ere this applied for permission to resign the government of the Low Countries, and to return to Spain. That permission was now granted; and, loaded with the curses of a nation that his tyranny had driven to desperation, he took his departure for his native country. His health was broken by a long residence in a moist, insalubrious climate; and he was heartily rejoiced to be freed from a situation which was every hour becoming more difficult and dangerous. As out of the foul manure which we place upon our ground, rise up the fairest flowers and

fruits, good, often in this world, springs from that apparently the least calculated to produce it. The tyranny of the Duke of Alva produced a nation its liberty; and his bigotry delivered it from the yoke of persecution. Yet as he left the Low Countries, none said "God bless him!" and it is probable, that not one soul accompanied his journey with a good wish. However that may be, it is but justice to say, that the evil he committed was done under the firmest conviction that he was doing right; and even as he left a land which his cruelty had desolated, and his exactions driven into anarchy and revolt, he boasted that eighteen thousand heretics had under his administration suffered by the executioner, besides a much greater number whom he had put to the sword.

Alva now returned to the court of Philip, and was received by that monarch with as much distinction as his cold and haughty character would permit him to show; but Alva was by nature too like that king himself. His arrogance and his pride gave offence even to the monarch, and he soon had to taste himself that unbending severity which he had often exercised upon others. His son, Don Garcia de Toledo, had seduced one of the queen's ladies of honour under a promise of marriage. The intrigue was discovered, and the King insisted that the promise should be fulfilled. This, the pride of Alva would not permit; and assisting his son to escape from the confinement in which he had been placed by Philip, he rendered the breach of his promise irrevocable, by marrying him to another person.

The anger of the King at the contempt of his authority was roused to the highest point; and banishing Alva from his presence, he confined him to the castle of Uzeda, where he remained, in spite of all solicitation near two years.

Alva remonstrated and complained and petitioned, but in vain: all his services were forgotten in his fault; and it was not till Philip prepared for the conquest of Portugal, that he obtained his liberty.

On the death of Henry, king of that country, several claimants had appeared for the crown, only three of whom were so circumstanced as to assert their pretensions with any chance of success. These three were the Duchess of Braganza, Philip, King of Spain, and Antonio, Prior of Crato. In the first was the direct and evident right of suc-

cession, having descended from the eldest male branch of the royal family; but her power was small when compared with the second competitor, Philip, who was the son of her aunt, and consequently claimed by the female line. Don Antonio, the third claimant, was the child of her father's younger brother, but was undoubtedly illegitimate. Nevertheless he possessed considerable popularity, and a large party in the state; and when Henry, after having in vain attempted to settle the succession, died, leaving the point undetermined, Don Antonio was better prepared to resist the Spanish forces than any other competitor.

Philip immediately determined to decide the question of succession by arms; and a skilful and determined general became necessary to lead the force he had collected. The monarch then sent to Alva's prison, to offer him the command of the army destined for that expedition; and, though aged, broken, and weary of command, Alva, with that devoted attachment to the service of his sovereign which had always formed one great trait in his character, accepted the fatiguing honour put upon him, and obeyed without a murmur.

Philip, though trusting him with so distinguished a command, had not yet sufficiently forgotten his offence to see him; and Alva having received written orders, proceeded to Badajos, where, having joined his troops, he marched directly into Portugal, and advanced towards Lisbon.

For some time he met with no opposition; and the towns, though generally averse to the government of Spain, being unprepared for resistance, threw open their gates to receive him. At Cascaes, his progress was at length arrested for a short time by an army raised in favour of Don Antonio, one of the claimants of the crown of Portugal. This, however, he attacked and dispersed; and having taken the town and citadel of Cascaes, which, according to his old habits, he suffered to be plundered, notwithstanding a positive promise to the contrary; he at the same time put to death, without any form of trial, or pretence at justification, Don Diego de Menases, the commander-in-chief of the army of Antonio.

Following up this victory, he proceeded as rapidly as possible towards Lisbon, attacked and defeated Don Antonio himself at Alcantara, and entered the capital without further opposition. Here, as everywhere else, he soon con-

trived to alienate the hearts of the people, by suffering his soldiers to plunder the large and beautiful suburbs, and all the towns and villages round about. His measures, however, as a general, were all well calculated to success; and in a very short time the whole of Portugal was reduced to a province of Spain. The Duke of Braganza himself took the oath prescribed to him by the haughty Duke of Alva, and all competition seemed crushed by the superior power of Philip, and the talents of his general. This, however, was the last service that Alva rendered to the Spanish crown. He had already reached the age of seventy when he undertook the conquest of Portugal; and, in a few years after, he died, leaving the reputation of a great commander, but a cruel, haughty, bigoted man.

Few of those pointed speeches are attributed to him which are generally, falsely or truly, heaped upon the reputation of all persons who have distinguished themselves. The only military maxims which he left are, "That all human things are precarious, but the most precarious of all is a battle;" "that it ought not to be the aim of a general to fight, but to overcome;" and "That there are many means by which this aim may be accomplished, more successfully than by fighting."

He also was wont to observe, "that a general should be both old and young, sometimes to employ the prudence of age, and sometimes the ardour of youth."

Such are reported to have been his familiar sayings. In the daily commerce of the world we are obliged to take speeches upon trust, and are too often deceived; but in history, where a man's deeds form a continual comment on his seemings, we have little to do with sayings. Fine speeches, like fine clothes, are put on on state occasions, and he who judges and describes from what a celebrated man said during his life, might nearly as well depict his coat to give an idea of his character. Even a man's actions sometimes lie, but they cannot do so always; and it is from the general tenour, that we must judge of the heart that prompts and the mind that governs them.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell was the son of Robert Cromwell, a brewer in Huntingdon; and was born on the 25th April 1599. His family was respectable, and his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a man of some consideration. Beyond these facts little is ascertained, though antiquarian research, joined to the love of the extraordinary, has discovered or invented in his behalf a descent from nobility and a family of princes. Those who traced this high origin also attempted to prove that his father did not exercise the trade by which he supported his family, as if commerce were in their eyes a stain on a character where hypocrisy and fraud were none. But the matter is beyond all doubt; and those who have sought to disprove it, only evinced that they shared the weakness of those who made it matter of reproach to the house of Cromwell.

Marvels have of course been provided for his childhood, to harmonize with his pedigree and his actions; but, amongst all that are recorded, the only accident clearly ascertained as having occurred to him in youth, was a fall into the water, which would have proved fatal had he not been rescued by a clergyman of the name of Johnstone. The fact of his having performed in a play called the "Five Senses," acted by the scholars of Huntingdon school, in which, while representing Tactus, or the touch, he stumbled on a crown and royal robe, and repeated a score of lines somewhat applicable to his after fate, is only remarkable as a coincidence: and the circumstance of his having dreamed that some one announced to him his future greatness—which dream probably took place while his imagination was heated by the play—deserves notice as having been current long before he attained power; and as bearing the stamp of truth, from the pen of Clarendon. Whether this fancy served to nourish ambition and point endeavour, historians do not mention; but it is recorded that he related it frequently himself, probably with the view of conveying to the minds of others those anticipations

of his future greatness, which might lead them to co-operate in his attempts to obtain the realization of his dream.

At school he was a dull and idle boy; and when at college,* which he entered in 1616, in his seventeenth year, he did little as a youth to amend the neglect of his childhood. His father dying while he was at College, he was sent to London to study the law. What Inn of Court received him is not known; but he apparently made more progress in debauchery than in his profession; and soon returned to Huntingdon, a gambler, a bully, and a rake. His faults served to alienate from him his most respectable relations, but the faults of his youth were of a very different character from the faults of his manhood, and soon leaving him, the same ardent temperament which had led him into bodily excesses, easily conducted him to mental ones. From a libertine he became a fanatic, and the imagination which had presented to him in boyhood a dream of coming aggrandizement, now taught him to believe in visions, and revelations, and all the fantastic ecstacies of religious enthusiasm.

The men who rule the world, require to have wisdom to see and use the high qualities both of themselves and others; and tact, while they take advantage of other men's faults, to turn their own also to account. This tact was most eminently possessed by Cromwell, and his fanaticism, which was his folly, he had cunning enough to use with as much success as his wisdom.

Before he was twenty-two Oliver Cromwell married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, by which it is said his small paternal property was increased. A great change took place in his conduct; he became sober, orderly, and thriving, and regained the good opinion of his friends and relations. Abandoning the law, he seems to have carried on his father's brewery: but this part of his history is obscure; and all that is correctly known in regard to it is, that he applied for a commission of lunacy against his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, of Ely, which was refused as unjust. Notwithstanding this proceeding his uncle was afterwards reconciled to him, and bequeathed him the property of which he had so long coveted possession.

* Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge.

Huntingdon was at this time full of non-conformists, and some of the most influential people in the place were sectarians. Whether from principle or policy is not very clear; but to these people Cromwell paid the most assiduous court, supported them in their opposition to the law, joined their meetings on all occasions, and sometimes preached himself for their edification. At length, in the third Parliament of Charles I. the non-conformists of Huntingdon secured the return of Cromwell to the House of Commons as one of the representatives of that city; and in his official duty he opposed the prevailing principles of the court, especially upon religion and church government.

It would appear that neither mercantile nor agricultural pursuits were at all consonant to the mind and habits of Oliver Cromwell; for, apparently involved in difficulties, he sold his family property in 1631, and took a farm near St. Ives, in which he was equally unfortunate, and approached the very brink of ruin. It was about this period that the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Steward took place, which placed him, for the time, at his ease, by the bequest of considerable estates in the Isle of Ely.

Notwithstanding this relief, Cromwell appears to have met with fresh difficulties; and shortly after, either from discontent with his circumstances at home, or brooding hatred towards the government and established church, he embarked on board a ship destined for America, in which his fellow-passengers are said to have been Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Hampden, and Pym. The spirit of emigration was then active in England, without the counterbalancing circumstance of a dense population, and the government of Charles I. whose views, good or bad, were almost always enforced by foolish and often by illegal measures, had recourse to the tyrannical act of stopping emigration by force, without any specific law to that effect. Amongst the vessels thus stopped, was the one containing Oliver Cromwell and his three companions, who bitterly visited on the head of Charles the unjustifiable act by which they were detained.

Cromwell now returned home, to pass his time in gloomy and hypochondriac reveries, in the mingled ravings of hypocrisy and fanaticism, and in factious opposition to

to one of the best attempts to improve the country which had been devised for many years. The attempt to which I allude was the draining of the fens of the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northampton. This beneficial measure was sanctioned by the royal authority, and of course opposed by Cromwell, who by inflaming the minds of the people carried his object, and rendered the king's views abortive. The popularity he thus obtained amongst the lower orders, and the abilities he had displayed in the dispute, procured him once more a seat in parliament, and in 1640 he was returned to represent the borough of Cambridge.

It is not within the scope of this work to trace Cromwell through all the long and tangled labyrinth of events which led to the protracted and sanguinary civil war. It is sufficient, that in every act of opposition to the government Cromwell was one of the first. Hampden, his relation, soon saw his abilities, and prognosticated his greatness, but believing Cromwell as sincere as himself, he never dreamed how dangerous such a spirit as that of his cousin might become to the very liberty he pretended to advocate. The mingled weakness and haughtiness of the King, his attempts to extend the royal prerogative, and his abandonment of some of its best privileges, the mania for change, and the unsparing virulence of religious zeal, which had fallen as a disease upon the people, hurried the country on rapidly towards those fatal scenes which last as a disgrace to the annals of the nation, and a proof of the barbarism of the times.

It soon became evident that the sword must end the dispute; and, amongst the most ready to take arms against the King was Cromwell. In the first instance the King had been decidedly in fault, and either by the weakness of his understanding, or by the arbitrary nature of his disposition, had hurried on the events which brought about his overthrow. But after a certain point, the criminality was changed, and fell upon the Parliament, who, having extorted from the King more than the Constitution justified, would not be even contented without the total subversion of his legitimate authority.

Amongst the first acts of open hostility, we find those of Cromwell, in sending down arms to St. Ives, and in forcibly attempting to stop the plate which the University

of Cambridge had despatched to aid the King. As neither party where yet in arms, an act of indemnity was voted by the Parliament, to cover this first bold step ; and, as soon as the war between the Commons and their King was absolutely declared, Cromwell received a commission, under which he speedily raised a regiment of horse in the district where he was known. This regiment, by his care and ability, he soon rendered superior to any other in the Parliamentary army. Seeing, with the quick glance of political genius, that there was a spirit of chivalrous bravery in the forces of the King, which the Parliamentary army —an army composed, as he declared himself, of tapsters and decayed serving men—could never meet with success, Cromwell felt the necessity of opposing to it a spirit of another kind, which should have equal power to raise and support enthusiasm in the bosoms of his soldiers. For this purpose, he chose alone such men to fill the ranks of his regiment, as felt, or could be taught, the fanatical zeal of the age. Every dark and gloomy spirit, to whose imagination religion had become a disease, was selected as a follower of Cromwell, not alone with the narrower view of preserving a community of sentiment between the soldiers and their leader, but with the calm deliberate policy of opposing the energy of loyalty by the energy of fanaticism. In these men also, spiritual pride, while it gave them that confidence of victory which often secures success, had overcome, at least in outward appearance, those wild passions and dissolute habits by which success is often cast away. Sober, gloomy, persevering, hardy, regular, obedient, brave, blood-thirsty, remorseless, the soldiers of Cromwell's regiment were the most serviceable to the Parliament, and most terrible to their opponents.

Before the monarch was in arms, the Parliament were in active hostility towards him ; and though, with a base hypocrisy, they affected to be acting for the King's interest, they used every effort to slaughter his servants and to ruin his cause. The five eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Hertford, seem to have been particularly entrusted to the superintendence of Cromwell, who, by his military activity and his energetic policy, defeated a thousand attempts to rise in favour of Charles, whose name he boldly made use of to suppress the efforts of his friends.

The King's standard was at length erected at Nottingham; and the Earl of Essex, appointed to the command of the Parliamentary army, advanced to Worcester. In the first campaign between the Royalist and the Parliamentary forces, we find little mention of Cromwell; and certain it is, that he in no degree distinguished himself. The famous battle of Edgehill took place without his presence, though he was at that time within a few miles of the spot; and from this fact, as well as many other circumstances, it has been inferred, that he never risked his person or his forces, but where some great and individual advantage was to be gained. Though he feared not to fight for the purposes of his own ambition, he loved not battle for the service of others; and, though he served the Parliament whenever it was absolutely necessary, as the means of his own ascent to power, farther than his personal interest was concerned he cared little for their success.

The first events of the war were favourable to the King: and the excessive demands of the Parliament, even under their reverses, opened the eyes of many, who had joined them on principle, to their real designs; so that the party of the monarch gained an accession of strength from the very intemperance of his enemies. This, however, was but small when compared with the advantages acquired by the Parliament, by the habit of war, the confirmed exercise of authority, and the discovery and application of resources.

It was in the second year of civil strife, 1643, that Cromwell first began to distinguish himself as a soldier. In a skirmish near Grantham, he defeated a superior body of royalist cavalry; and in the month of June marched to the relief of Gainsborough, on which the Marquis of Newcastle, after defeating Fairfax, was advancing with all speed, in order to wrest it from the hands of Lord Willoughby, the Parliamentary general, by whom it had been taken.

Cromwell arrived with twelve troops of horse at the moment that the advanced guard of the Royalists appeared on the hill above Gainsborough. Treble numbers, advantageous position, and late victory, gave the royal forces every advantage. But Cromwell was now sole in the command; the fame of victory, or the dishonour of defeat, would attach to him alone, and he hesitated not a moment

to attack his adversaries. He accordingly charged them up the hill; and, after a severe but short struggle, he broke their ranks, threw them into confusion, and drove the greater part into a morass, where his soldiers butchered them without mercy. No quarter was shown; and, amongst other men of distinction, who were here slaughtered after their surrender, was the gallant and unhappy Cavendish, the brother of the Marquis of Newcastle.

The Earl of Manchester, who, with a good many other noblemen, had joined the Parliament, now lay with his small army near Boston; and thither Cromwell marched, as the main army of the royalists advanced after the battle of Gainsborough. His conduct during that battle, and the success by which it was followed, had already acquired for Cromwell a considerable reputation, and rendered him a particular object of hatred and attack to the royalists. Among the rest, Sir John Henderson, detached with a large body of horse from the army of Lord Newcastle, eagerly sought for Cromwell, and came up with him near Horncastle. The place was called Winsleyfield, and Cromwell, though far inferior in force to his antagonist, and separated from the army of the Earl of Manchester, did not fear to risk the encounter. As soon as he learned the approach of Sir John Henderson, he gave out the words, "Truth and peace," together with a Psalm, which was sung by the whole troop; and then, turning to meet the enemy, he poured his force upon them in their advance. The cavalry of both parties were at that time furnished with fire-arms, and the Royalists received the Rebels with a tremendous discharge. Cromwell's horse was killed under him, as the two armies joined; and after having risen, he was again brought to the ground by a blow on the head, which stunned him for a moment. Almost instantly recovering himself, he was remounted by one of his troopers; and, fighting, with desperate bravery, he turned the tide of battle, which at first was going against him; and completely routed the greatly superior force of the King.

The five eastern counties which I have named before, had at this time formed a sort of association against the King, which they called preserving themselves for his Majesty; and by their united efforts Colonel Cromwell was now at the head of two thousand of the best cavalry

in Europe. With these forces he gained several trifling advantages in the field, but rendered the more fruitful service to the Parliament of keeping the east of England in check, and preventing any rising there which might have co-operated with the success of Charles and Prince Rupert in the west, to the total destruction of the rebels. He also took means the most unjustifiable to swell the finances of his party, by the plunder and oppression of their opponents; and exercised various acts of outrage upon the clergy of the established Church, as well as upon the Cathedrals and other ancient buildings which they held sacred.

The most tremendous blow which the power of the King had yet received, was struck about this time, by the union of the Scottish nation with his refractory Parliament. For this purpose, a Solemn League and Covenant, as it was called, was proposed by the Scotch to the English houses of Parliament, and was accepted. Cromwell amongst the rest put his signature to the paper, which, with various other things that he never intended to fulfil, bound him to defend the King's Majesty's person and authority. Such is the pitch of hypocrisy to which the alliance of fanaticism and ambition can carry human cunning.

Charles now called a Parliament at Oxford; and at the same time recalled his army from Ireland: but the former measure failed entirely to counterbalance the influence of the London Parliament; and of the forces from Ireland, a part were defeated by Fairfax, near Nantwich, and part went over to the enemy.

About this period, also, took place the famous battle of Marston Moor, which laid the basis of Cromwell's power more firmly than it had been established by any other circumstance, yet, strange to say, left an imputation upon his personal courage, apparently incompatible with many of his other actions. A large body of Scottish auxiliaries had crossed the Tweed at Berwick, on the fifteenth of January, and on the twentieth of April effected their junction with the Parliamentary army. Accompanied by these, Manchester, Fairfax, and Cromwell, with united forces far superior to those opposed to them, had forced the Marquis of Newcastle to abandon the open country and take refuge in York, where they pursued and besieged him. Prince Rupert, who was then in Wales, received the most pressing

commands from Charles to march and relieve that city, which he accordingly did; and having joined his forces with those of Newcastle, insisted on giving battle to the enemy, notwithstanding the strongest opposition on the part of the Marquis and most of the other officers. Prince Rupert's obstinacy on this occasion has been defended by several writers, who urge that he acted in conformity to the positive orders of the King.

Charles's letter, however, does not bear out the assertion. The monarch only commands his nephew to relieve York, but does not demand that he should absolutely risk a battle. York was for the time relieved; and by skilful manœuvres that relief might have been made absolute, but the impetuosity of the Prince led him always to prefer battle to stratagem, and induced him to overbear the opinions of the other commanders.

To describe the battle which now took place, properly, is perfectly impossible; for the accounts of it, as given by writers of equal authority, are so diametrically opposite to each other; the virulence of party and national prejudice, is so abundant on both sides; and there are so many reasons for believing a part of each description to be false, wtthout any means of ascertaining which part is true, that I must even leave it in darkness as I found it.

The known facts are, that the Royalist and Parliamentary armies met upon Marston Moor in Yorkshire, and that Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, commanded the horse of the left wing. A strange mixture of courage and weakness seems to have been displayed on both sides. Alternately each party was victorious, and the fate of the battle was at length decided by a charge of Cromwell's horse, which carried all before it. The army of Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Newcastle was completely routed; their colours, cannon, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy; an immense number of officers and soldiers remained upon the field of battle, and while the Marquis of Newcastle quitted England in disgust, Prince Rupert saved the remnant of his army by a hurried retreat into Wales.

In regard to the question of the person to whom the honour of this great victory was to be attributed, an angry discussion took place even within a few days of the battle. The fanatics, calling themselves Independents, raised

Cromwell to the sky, and assigned all the success of the day to him, while the Scotch and Presbyterians accused him of cowardice, and declared that he had slunk away from the fight. That the battle of Marston Moor was finally decided by the charge of Cromwell's horse, is clear; but it is equally clear that Cromwell was not present at that last charge. He had been wounded in the beginning of the battle, some declare so slightly as to be of no consequence, while others affirm that the injury was more serious; but at all events, on the excuse of this wound, he retired from the field, and another officer led his cavalry to their final exertions. That a man can at one moment display the most resolute courage, and at the next the most pitiful cowardice, without some great object to be gained, I do not believe. Circumstanced as Cromwell was, during the whole of the civil wars, courage could not be assumed if he did not possess it; for fear is known so utterly to incapacitate its victims for thought or action, that the man possessed by it could never have been found leading, commanding, observing; improving every advantage on his own side, and seizing on every fault of his enemy, through moments of the utmost personal danger, and a long course of perilous years. Cromwell's absence at the moment of the last charge must have proceeded either from his wound being severe, or from some motive of deep cunning, which we can only appreciate at this moment from the general tone of his character. That he was a hypochondriac, I have no doubt, and trembled at imaginary dangers; but a coward in the moment of activity and exertion, he was none.

While Charles himself pursued the Earl of Essex into Cornwall, and forced his army to lay down their arms, Manchester and Cromwell, with the Scottish forces, took Newcastle by storm, and then marched with all speed to join the army which the Parliament had now collected to supply the place of that which had surrendered in Cornwall. This was effected; and, with much superior force, the Parliamentary generals advanced to attack the King, who had concentrated his troops at Newbury. The battle was long and obstinate. The Earl of Essex being ill, the command had devolved upon the Earl of Manchester. Cromwell commanded the horse, and gave the most striking proofs that cowardice was no part of his character. Notwithstanding his repeated charges, however, the royal army

maintained its position till night; and then retreated from the field in good order. Cromwell afterwards declared that if the Earl of Manchester would have allowed him to charge the King's forces at the moment they were retiring, he would have rendered the victory complete; but this the commander-in-chief would not permit; and Charles afterwards boldly removed his cannon from Donnington-castle, and took up a formidable position in the face of the enemy.

This conduct afforded a favourable opportunity to Cromwell for taking some of the greatest steps in his course of hypocritical ambition. The balance of power between the Houses of Peers and Commons had been gradually leaning more and more towards the democratical part of the assembly; and now the preponderance had become so great, that the nobles who had hitherto adhered to all the measures of the Parliament, found the insanity of their conduct, and endeavoured to stem the torrent, the floodgates against which they had so greatly contributed to open.

Cromwell, whose tendency to democratical principles, though always subservient to his personal ambition, was the original bias of his disposition and the natural effect of his situation, was of course peculiarly obnoxious to the Parliamentary Lords. His religion and ecclesiastical policy rendered him hateful to the Scotch; and he had apparently contemplated long the necessity of removing the persons opposed to him from their commands in the army. His first step was loud complaints against the Earl of Manchester, whom he accused of trifling with opportunity, and favouring the King by inaction. In these charges Lord Essex himself was not spared; and, as the desire of Manchester, Denbigh, Essex, and many others, evidently tended towards a general pacification, which would have soon reduced many of the most active members of the House of Commons to their original insignificance, Cromwell was supported in his designs by a very large majority in that assembly.

As nothing was to be done in that day without hypocrisy, the pretence used for depriving the nobles of their command was the very reverse of the true motives. A self-denying Ordinance, as it was called, was proposed by Cromwell, and carried through the House of Commons, by which it

was decreed, that in order to prevent the Parliament seeking to carry on the war for the sake of continuing its great authority, no person holding a seat therein should be eligible to any military or civil command. This ordinance the House of Peers first rejected, and afterwards accepted, having taken the intermediate step of passing a bill proposed to them by the Commons, for new-modelling the army, the execution of which was entrusted to Sir Thomas Fairfax and Major-General Skippon.

As the real object of both these measures was the prolongation of the war for the extension and continuance of the Parliamentary authority, while the pretext was to guard against that very desire in the minds of the members, so also, the measure by which Cromwell intended to obtain the entire command of the army, was cunningly framed with the appearance of excluding him from command.

Fairfax, to whom the chief military authority was given, was an easy and sincere man; active and energetic in the execution of rapid movements, but incapable of devising great schemes himself, and totally blind to character and to human nature. Fairfax was appointed Commander-in-Chief; Skippon Major-General; but the post of Lieutenant-General, between the two, was left open for Cromwell. Manchester, Essex, Denbigh, Warwick, and other members of either House laid down their commissions; and immediately the manœuvre was begun to bring about an exception in favour of Cromwell. His services were first actively required in various particular spots; his soldiers then mutinied through fear of losing their beloved general; the King was next found to be threatening the Isle of Ely, which nobody could defend or command but Cromwell; and at length Sir Thomas Fairfax, with all the principal officers of his army, addressed a petition to Parliament, praying that the chief command of the horse might be conferred upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell. This humble petition being in perfect accordance with the design of the House of Commons, was immediately granted; and while Fairfax lent his military skill to the completion of Cromwell's artful policy, the real power over the army became vested in the latter, who soon contrived to render the army the State.

Before his appointment as Lieutenant-general of Fairfax's army, and while acting as a detached partisan, Cromwell's

successes were not equal to his failures. He defeated a body of troops marching upon Oxford, took Blessingdon-house, and worsted Sir William Vaughan; but he failed in his assault of Farringdon-house, and was completely defeated by General Goring.

In the meanwhile the negotiations for peace between the Monarch and his Parliament had been broken off: nor can it be supposed that the House of Commons ever dreamed that their proposals would be accepted—proposals, the fundamental principles of which were, that the Episcopal church should be done away, the Presbyterian religion established, and all the appointments in the army should be filled up by the Parliament.

After the rupture of the negotiations, Charles successfully attempted the relief of Chester, took Leicester by storm, and made a demonstration of turning his arms against York and Northumberland. Fairfax and Cromwell, with united forces, now marched to prevent the execution of this purpose and advanced to the immediate neighbourhood of Harborough, whither Charles had retreated from Daventry. News of their proximity reached the royal head-quarters at night, and a council was hastily summoned, at which it was resolved to give the enemy battle next morning. The position first taken by the King was an advantageous one in every respect, being situated on a rising ground above the plain leading to Naseby. The right of the royal forces was commanded by Prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the centre by Lord Ashley, and the reserve by the Earl of Litchfield. The wings were composed of cavalry, the centre of foot; and horse and infantry were mingled in the reserve. The King himself retained the chief command of the whole.

The enemy not appearing, Prince Rupert was thrown forward to reconnoitre their position; and, imagining that they were in retreat, he sent word to the King that such was the case. Charles, in order to take them at a disadvantage, abandoned his strong ground on the height, and descended into the fatal plain of Naseby, where he soon found the enemy prepared to receive him.

Here also the cavalry were on the wings, which were commanded, the right by Cromwell, the left by his son-in-law, Ireton; while the centre under Fairfax was almost entirely infantry. The action being on the right of the

royal army by a brilliant charge by Prince Rupert, who bore down everything before him. Ireton fought long and manfully on the side of the Parliament, but his troops were routed in every direction, and Prince Rupert, with that mad selfishness called impetuosity, continued to pursue the fugitives, without heeding or caring for the success of the rest of his army. In the meantime Cromwell, at the head of the Parliamentary right, charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and after a long, steady, and determined fight, completely defeated the royal cavalry opposed to him. Never for a moment forgetting the great object of the whole, Cromwell pursued the Royalists no farther than to secure their dispersion, and then turned upon the flank of the King's infantry, which was at that time engaged in a desperate struggle with the centre of the Parliamentary forces, who were giving way in several points of their line.

Had Prince Rupert returned at that instant, the battle would have been won; but the charge of Cromwell upon the flank of the royal infantry, was decisive; and before the right wing of the Cavaliers reappeared, the whole of their army was in confusion. The King was seen exposing his person in every direction, endeavouring to rally his troops; but by the conduct of Cromwell, and the fatal neglect of Prince Rupert, the battle was lost, and the tardy return of his victorious cavalry only enabled the monarch to quit the field of battle in safety.

Extraordinary as it may seem, this severe and protracted battle was fought with the death of less than two thousand men on both sides: but the King lost the whole of his artillery, his stores, cabinet, and royal standard, and four thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy.—Charles, followed closely by Cromwell, retreated by Leicester, Ashby, and Lichfield, to North Wales.

Leicester and Taunton were soon reduced by the Parliamentary forces; and Bristol, into which Prince Rupert had thrown himself, capitulated, an act which so mortified the unhappy monarch that he is said to have instantly cancelled the Prince's commission in his service, and to have ordered him to quit the island. During the course of these operations Cromwell played an active and prominent part, and with his horse alone, completely defeated General Goring, taking nearly the whole of his artillery and infantry.

Pursuing his success through Wiltshire and Devonshire, he cleared those counties almost entirely of the King's armed partisans, and having joined himself to Fairfax they marched into Cornwall, defeating Lord Hopton at Torrington by the way. The rout and capture of Lord Ashley ended the war in that quarter. In the meantime the King himself had retreated into Wales, and attempted to relieve Chester, but in vain. He then crossed the country to Newark, and thence proceeded to Oxford, where finding his situation daily growing worse, he is said to have written that remarkable letter to Lord Digby, in which he declared, that *if he could not live like a King he would die like a gentleman.*

Some negotiation now took place towards a peace; but as time wore on, Charles found that fresh armies were marching to surround his last refuge, and seeing that the object of his enemies was but to amuse him till they had him completely in their power, he made his escape from Oxford by night, and threw himself upon the generosity of the Scottish army, which was then besieging Newark. By his command Newark surrendered to the forces of Scotland, and Charles was removed to Newcastle, where negotiations were again resumed. But the English parliament and their adherents were now divided into two parties, who mutually detested each other. The Presbyterians had still great interest in the House of Commons, but the Independents were more powerful in the army, and perhaps in the nation. The first of these parties principally desired the establishment of their own sect as the predominant religion of the country, and the limitation of the royal authority, but not its abolition. The second class were republicans in every principle, whether of ecclesiastical or state government; and at the head of this party Cromwell had placed himself, well knowing that the subversion of every established form, must precede the new system destined to work out his own ambitious views.

The party who treated with the King at Newcastle were the representatives of the Presbyterian part of the nation, and aware that in their hands the King would be safe, and the government be speedily re-established, Cromwell and his associates made use of every hypocritical art, to induce the unfortunate monarch to reject the unpalatable propôsals offered to him. They held out to him the prospect of their

own support, to reseat him on his throne upon milder conditions; and they succeeded in making Charles refuse to accede to the Presbyterian propositions.

The negotiations were broken off between the monarch and his people, but were commenced between the English parliament and the Scottish army. The most disgraceful treaty in the annals of the world was entered into on the occasion, and Charles I. was delivered up to English commissioners, to imprisonment, to insult, and to death.

In the meanwhile Cromwell, who possessed, as has been justly observed, all the qualities of an usurper, was proceeding with prosperous cunning in the course of his iniquitous aggrandizement. Two thousand five hundred per annum was settled on him and his family by the Parliament. The fat pickings of confiscated estates swelled his coffers and increased his power, and the thanks of the two Houses for his manifold services, declared his merit and stamped his pretensions. Notwithstanding these rewards and honours, the Parliament feared the man they were in the act of elevating; but they feared him not enough, and only endeavoured, after the capture of the King, to diminish his power in common with other of the principal officers of the army.

This, however, was not so easily effected as had been supposed; and the first mention of drawing off a part of the forces for Ireland, and re-modelling the rest, caused an open revolt of the troops from the authority of the Parliament. Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and Fleetwood, each of whom possessed considerable interest amongst the forces, were the persons selected for a mission to Walden, in order to calm the minds of the military and inquire into their complaints. The persons sent, however, though they were indeed, as the Parliament supposed, the only men who could tranquillize the spirit of revolt which had manifested itself, were also the very men by whom it was chiefly nourished. A council of officers had been chosen, and a council of agitators was selected from the army, each regiment sending two representatives to this curious assembly, so that the Commons and the aristocracy of the host, was arrayed against the other two great bodies of the nation.

Cromwell, the principal mover of all these measures, had a game to play between the parliament and the army, which required all his own cunning, activity, hypocrisy, and firm-

ness, to conduct with success. With the most searching discrimination he selected his tools, and with the most commanding genius, bent the talents and the weakness, the love and the hate, of all by whom he was surrounded, to his own purposes: The Parliament suspected him, and yet were continually blinded by his art; the army loved him, and were the weak tools of his ambition; the deceitful Ireton was the slave of his greater cunning; and the blood-thirsty Harison the instrument of the deepest crimes in the course of his usurpation. Remonstrance after remonstrance, petition following petition, crowded the table of the House in which Cromwell sat, from the army which he commanded; and it is far more wonderful that the most consummate hypocrisy could so long deceive, than that it was at last detected.

Finding that his instigation of the refractory conduct of the army, could now be proved by evidence before the House, Cromwell gave orders to a certain Cornet Joyce to proceed to Holdenby, or Holmby Castle, where the King was now in close confinement, and to bring him to the head-quarters; fearful that the Parliament, by making themselves master of the monarch's person, might unite the greater part of the nation against him. While this was enacting, Cromwell, by a display of the most exquisite art, continued to blind the Parliament for a day or two longer. Accused of the very arts he was using, he knelt down upon his knees before the Commons, called God to witness his innocence, shed torrents of tears at the very accusation, and ended by a speech so long, so complex, and so vehement, that, though all were tired of it, and few understood it, the House rejected the clearest evidence of his guilt, and suffered him to depart in peace.

Cromwell immediately quitted London and repaired to the head of the army at Newmarket; the King was brought thither on the same day. The council of agitators boldly acknowledged the measure of his removal; and the sincere, weak Fairfax in vain endeavoured to ascertain the real mover of these acts of insubordination, and to punish the actual offender.

The unfortunate King now became the great object of contention between the Presbyterians and Independents. The army marched nearer to London, and eleven Presbyterian members being accused of high treason, pusillanimously

fled, leaving the two parties in the House much more nearly balanced. Some tumults amongst the citizens also soon gave the army an excuse for exercising still greater power. It was declared that the Parliament was intimidated by the people; the party in the House calling themselves Independents fled to the military head-quarters under an affected fear; and Cromwell, with his veteran battalions, marched into the city, and restored his friends to their seats with a great accession of strength.

The efforts of the Presbyterians to win the King to their interests, were greatly increased by the decay of their Parliamentary power; and Charles, who was sometimes kept at Windsor, sometimes at Hampton Court, soon found himself the object of solicitations on both parts; and strove hard to win from their discord what their union had formerly snatched from him.

Whether Cromwell was at all sincere in the offers which he and Ireton, as the heads of the Independent faction, made to the monarch, must ever remain in darkness. His uniform hypocrisy and his evident ambition, tend to evince that his sole object was, by long protracted and artful negotiations, to prevent the King from acceding to the proposals of the Presbyterians, till the Independents had confirmed their power. But there is a story extant which imputes to him less criminal views; and the reverence and kindness with which he treated Charles, give some confirmation to the idea of his having once leaned to moderation. The demonstrations of a better feeling might be the effect of art to lull the monarch into greater security; and, to judge fairly from the rest of Cromwell's character, the same crooked policy guided that and many other of his actions at the time of which I speak. However, it is certain that the children of the unhappy sovereign were by Cromwell's interference admitted to see their royal parent, and that the consolation of their presence was extended to him as long as it was possible under the circumstances of the case.

About this time, the faction calling themselves Levellers sprang up in the army; and if the aspiring Cromwell did not promote their rise, for the purpose of carrying on to their consummation the changes by which he had already risen so high, accident certainly seconded policy in a very extraordinary degree.

The passions of the army were stirred up to the highest point, and directed against all the distinctions of rank and station; amongst which the royal authority, so long opposed in fact, was now boldly rejected on principle; the office of King was declared useless, unjust, and evil, and the man who had held it was lifted up to abhorrence in the eyes of the people. Cromwell took care that intimation of these facts should be given to the monarch; and Charles, taught to believe his life was in danger, fled to the Isle of Wight, and trusted himself in the hands of Colonel Hammond, a creature of the aspiring usurper.

The moment he was gone, Cromwell easily quelled the mutiny of the troops, and springing into the ranks of the most refractory, seized the ringleader with his own hand. Several of the most active were condemned, but only one was shot; and subordination was soon restored. The end, however, was by this time gained. The King had quitted Hampton Court, where the love of the people had learned to revive under the influence of their pity. Men had been taught to contemplate the death of the monarch by the hands of those who detained him, as no improbable event; and Cromwell well knew how soon familiarity with the most revolting ideas, robs them of their horror by taking from them the importance of novelty.

Whether Cromwell fashioned these events to his own purpose, or moulded his own mind to take advantage of the events, is now hid in those dark archives into which the human mind is forbidden to pry. Certain it is, nevertheless, that almost immediately after the monarch's departure the negotiations were broken off abruptly between the King and the military leaders. Those with the Parliament continued some time longer; but at length, the sovereign having refused to strip himself of all authority, by sanctioning the bills sent to him as the foundation of a treaty, it was voted by both Houses that no further negotiations should take place. Ireton, a sincere republican, urged the Parliament to throw off the royal authority altogether; and Cromwell himself, so far laid down the mask as to support strongly the arguments of his son-in-law, and to speak of Charles as a man whose heart God had hardened.

Such tumults took place through the country, however, at these demonstrations of the designs of the Independents, that a temporary abandonment of their schemes for the total

destruction of the monarchy, was forced upon them. But this did not satisfy the people. Now that it was too late, they saw that the factions whom they had blindly supported, were hurrying them to deeds that they had never dreamed of in the outset; and they strove in vain to restore that fair order which, for the purpose of correcting some irregularities, they had themselves cast into hopeless confusion.

Risings in favour of the King and the ancient constitution of the land, now took place throughout the whole country. The London apprentices took up arms, and dared to encounter the veterans of Cromwell. The men of Kent boldly opposed Fairfax at Maidstone, and suffered a defeat which was almost a victory. The Duke of Hamilton, at the head of a large but ill-equipped and unsubordinate army, entered England in favour of the King, and Pembroke-castle raised the royal standard, while the greater part of Wales rose to oppose the armed oligarchy which had sprung up on the ruins of the monarchy.

In a moment Cromwell found the whole fabric which had been cemented together by his artifice, his talents, his labour, the concatenations of fortunate events, and the subservient abilities of all those whom he had used as tools, threatened with total destruction. But then it was that his powerful and comprehensive mind roused all its energies to meet the dangers that gathered round him. Wales, in which General Langhorne and Colonels Powel and Poyer were in arms, gaining strength every day, first called his attention, and he immediately marched upon Pembroke, resolving, after the subjection of his first enemies, to pursue his way northward, and attack Sir Marmaduke Langdale on the Scottish border. The Royalists in Wales retired before him, and threw themselves into Pembroke, which Cromwell immediately attempted to storm. He met, however, a more determined resistance than he had expected; his troops were repulsed, and several weeks were consumed in the siege before the castle could be reduced. Cromwell now began a system of military execution to which he had shown himself averse in the commencement of the civil war. Colonel Poyer, the Governor of Pembroke, was forced to draw lots with the other principal officers, and the fate falling on himself, he was put to death by the victors.

Without loss of time the conqueror proceeded to oppose

the progress of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who now, supported by the Duke of Hamilton and the Scotch forces, was advancing towards Lancashire. The Royalist army was marching boldly on, without information of their enemies' approach, Sir Marmaduke Langdale leading the advance, when near Preston, the flank of that officer's division was suddenly attacked by Cromwell, who soon compelled his forces to retire in confusion. The Scots were next attacked in Preston, and, after effecting one or two gallant charges led by the Duke of Hamilton in person, were put to flight. Sharply pursued by Cromwell, they each day fell into greater disorder as they retreated towards the border, in some places turned their arms against each other, and finally dispersed.

It is not possible here to follow all the insurrections which now broke out in different parts of the country. Colchester held out long in the royal cause, and the young Prince of Wales commanded a considerable navy at sea. But a want of unity of purpose defeated all the efforts of the King's adherents; and Colchester surrendered to Fairfax, while Cromwell pursued his way to Edinburgh.

The Duke of Argyle, and all the enemies of the monarchy, had risen in Scotland to counteract the efforts of the Duke of Hamilton; so that the task of subduing that country was comparatively easy to Cromwell, who after having concerted measures with the more fanatical parts of the nation, for raising troops, and keeping down revolt, returned to England in triumph.

Though his progress had been a course of victories, it had not been altogether a course of happiness, for in this expedition he lost his eldest son, who was killed in one of the charges at Preston. The Parliament, also, alarmed at the manifestations of public feeling in favour of the King, and uninfluenced by the presence of the army, rescinded their former vote, that no farther addresses should be offered, and entered into fresh negotiations with Charles at Newport. These were soon terminated, Cromwell marched on towards London, petitions and remonstrances were poured in upon the Parliament, demanding that justice should be done upon the King; several regiments took possession of the city; and the House of Commons, finding themselves driven to extremity, resolved to support the monarch they had destroyed, and voted that the negotia-

tions of Newport were a sufficient basis for settling the state of the nation. Their power however was now gone; and though Cromwell himself had not yet reached London, his intention and that of the army were so well known, that Colonel Pride, on his own authority, marched down two regiments to the House of Commons, arrested forty-one of the members as they came down, turned back one hundred and sixty more, and only permitted a hundred and fifty to take their seats, who were of course the mere creatures of the Independent faction.

I see no reason for believing that this act was known to Cromwell, though it was exactly what he desired, and one which he would beyond doubt have performed himself if it had not been done before his arrival.

The army had now resolved on the King's death; the Parliament were but instruments in their hands. On the thirtieth of November, Charles had been conveyed from the Isle of Wight to Hurst castle, on the coast of Hampshire; and in the middle of December the victim was brought by Colonel Harison to Windsor, with the express purpose of proceeding to trial. Immense exertions were made to save him. Foreign countries interfered, private friends solicited, Cromwell's family beseeched him to pause in his sanguinary course, and the people murmured loudly. But to all, Cromwell opposed the same cool determination and the same consummate art. Whenever he found that his tools were hurrying forward too rapidly he affected to be reluctant, he wept, he prayed, he canted, he blamed their over zeal, and called on God to direct him and them. Whenever his friends or his family applied to him to spare the unhappy monarch, he laid the blame upon others, and appealed to his hypocritical professions as proofs of his own intentions. But if any one paused or lingered in the design, none became so violent as Cromwell; and he used every means of invective and abuse to drive his hearers to his purpose. Strange it is, that though a thousand times a day Cromwell betrayed his own hypocrisy, yet still he made it answer his own designs, and command the exertions of others. In their communion with him men saw that they were deceived, and hated and contemned their deceiver; but the influence of his dark and inscrutable mind seemed to overawe them against their very reason; and

the immensity of its uncompromising baseness gave a grandeur even to his hypocrisy.

It is not my purpose to go through all the melancholy scenes of the King's trial with any minuteness of detail. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed to discover the best means of proceeding against the monarch, and a High Court of Justice, as it was called, was determined upon, to consist of a hundred and fifty members. Only seventy-nine, however, of the commissioners, actually proceeded to judge their King. Fourteen days were spent in preparations, and on the twentieth of January, Charles was brought before the court, where, with unshaken dignity, he refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, and to plead before so illegal an assembly. After having been three times remanded, and having three several days refused to plead, he was again conducted to Westminster-hall and received sentence of death ; which he heard with the same dignity that he had maintained throughout.

The conduct of Cromwell, who of course sat amongst the judges, was during the whole of this sad trial most singular, and has been considered unaccountable. It is said, that while consulting with the commissioners in the Painted Chamber, news was brought that the King was landing at the stairs within sight, in order to undergo his trial. Cromwell with several others, ran to the window to view the arrival of his victim. Human nature for a moment was too strong for ambition, and he returned as pale as death. Through the course of the trial, however, though he maintained his gravity in the court, he displayed in each moment of recess a childish jocularity, which has been regarded as one of the many masks, with which from time to time he covered his real feelings and designs. Nevertheless it might be the effect of agitation, for no one can doubt that, deeply interested in the cause before him, and knowing that for his own personal ambition, though by the instrumentality of others, he was murdering his King, Cromwell's strong nerves must have been greatly shaken during the seven long days which the assassination took in preparation.

In the trial itself, Cromwell did not at all put himself forward, but let the blame of the most active part fall upon others ; but with regard to the execution, the aspiring general took care himself that no impediment should arrest

that consummation of the civil war. The warrant for the monarch's execution was signed by only fifty-nine of the Commissioners, and the name of Cromwell was the third upon the roll. We have reason to believe also that the absolute order for his execution was signed by Cromwell and Hacker alone, on the refusal of Colonel Hunks to take it upon himself. At the actual moment of the monarch's death, Cromwell and his associates were engaged in prayer; or, as it should rather be called, in blasphemy; and it has been asserted by Noble, that the usurper opened the coffin of the dead monarch with the sword of one of the soldiers, and contemplated the body from which he had so violently expelled the spirit. No absolute proof of this fact that I know of exists, but it is by no means irreconcilable with the character of the man to whom it is attributed.

The first acts of the House of Commons, after putting to death the monarch, were to abolish monarchy, to vote the acknowledgment of Charles, the son of the murdered sovereign, to be high treason, to lay aside the House of Peers as useless, and to establish a democratic form of government on the ruins of the former constitution.

Nevertheless, though the old aristocracy was done away, a new one of course supplied its place, and for the executive government of the country, a Council of State was appointed, consisting of forty-one members, who acted in fact as commissioners for exercising the functions of the kingly office. To reconcile the institution of such a council with the theories of the republicans, and to habituate their mind to its existence, it was declared to be only temporary. But still this did not satisfy the Levellers. A strong spirit of mutiny showed itself in the army, several regiments refused to march without the payment of their arrears, and a vigorous remonstrance was presented to Parliament on behalf of the "poor army."

Cromwell, who had formerly been the eager but secret instigator of all the contempt and insubordination which the army had displayed towards the Parliament, felt the benefit of his concealment, now that, as the real chief of the Council of State, the mutiny of his troops impugned his own power. Several instances of severity only served to increase the spirit of disaffection, and Cromwell and Fairfax took the field against a considerable body of

cavalry, who remained in open revolt. When the two forces were within a small distance of each other, Cromwell had recourse to his never-failing hypocrisy to spare the effusion of blood on either side, and assure the victory to himself. He demanded a parley with the mutineers, appeared to lend an attentive ear to their grievances, lulled them into security by negotiation, and surprised them all at night, in the village where they had taken up their quarters. A few were executed and the rest dispersed. Yet still the same feelings of anger and turbulence prevailed, and having received an individual direction, were poured bitterly upon the heads of Cromwell and Ireton.

About the same time also, the Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, were brought to trial and beheaded, an act of cruelty in no degree necessary to the state, and which brought an increase of odium upon those who had been its chief instigators.

Finding himself growing unpopular with even the army, which he intended to be the chief instrument in the accomplishment of his future designs, and seeing no other means than active and successful warfare of regaining his great influence, Cromwell prompted the Council of State to demand of the Parliament that he should be appointed to the chief command in Ireland, which then, as now, was torn to pieces by greedy factions and continual strife. The native Irish, struggling to recover their lost rights, the fierce republicans of the parliamentary party, and the last determined adherents of royalty, made that unfortunate island their common battle-field. Blood already flowed like water through the land, and Cromwell soon came to deluge it still more deeply in human gore.

On being informed by the Parliament that he was appointed to the chief command in Ireland, Cromwell affected surprise, and assumed reluctance; but he was soon prevailed upon to undertake the task; and, with the commission of general in chief, and the title of Lord Lieutenant, twelve thousand veteran troops, and a well stored treasury, he set off for his new field of operations in the beginning of August, 1649.

In the meanwhile Scotland had remained a separate kingdom, and King Charles II. had been proclaimed in Edinburgh almost immediately after his father's death.

But the Presbyterians of that country shackled their acknowledgment of the young monarch with so many unworthy conditions, that Charles hesitated long before he would accept them; and during this hesitation, Cromwell had sufficient time to execute the greater part of his schemes against Ireland.

On his arrival in Dublin, he found that General Monk had concluded a peace with the famous O'Neal, so that he could direct the whole of his efforts against the Royalists, under the Earl of Ormond. These troops had principally left the open country, and had dispersed themselves in different strong places, against which Cromwell successively turned his arms. The first city attacked was Drogheda, which was garrisoned by three thousand steady royalists under Sir Arthur Ashton. As soon as a breach was practicable, the fanatics rushed forward to storm; but were met with intrepidity equal to their own enthusiasm, and were completely repulsed. A second assault proved more successful. A royalist officer who commanded in one of the intrenchments raised within the breach, was shot as the Parliamentary forces advanced. His troops wavered, the Republicans offered them quarter, and during the hesitation which followed this proposal, poured in and made themselves masters of the place.

All the horrors of a successful assault were now inflicted. Cromwell himself, instead of endeavouring to stay the bloodshed which always follows such an event, gave orders to show no mercy. Some of the unfortunate garrison took refuge in a strong post called the Mill Mount, which offered them little security. The position was almost immediately forced; and Sir Arthur Ashton, with all the officers and men which it contained, were put to death. Another party took possession of the steeple of St. Peter's Church, and held out for some time; but as the most summary way of destroying them, the bloodthirsty general ordered the church to be fired, which was accordingly done. The rest, who had thrown themselves into two strong towers, which threatened a more protracted resistance than their assailants could afford to encounter, obtained somewhat more favourable terms. The men were decimated, and the survivors transported to Barbadoes; but the officers, as well as all the Catholic priests who could be discovered, were butchered in cold blood. Nor does this seem to

have been the whole amount of blood and guilt chargeable to Cromwell on the capture of Drogheda. For five days the slaughter was more or less continued, and it appears that a vast number of the peaceable inhabitants were slain at the very altars to which they clung for protection.

The ferocity of soldiers, excited almost to madness by the fierce struggle of an assault, no officer can immediately restrain; but he who suffers the license of such a scene to proceed for one moment after he can arrest its progress—and far more still, he who encourages the merciless disposition of his troops, is a murderer and a villain. No excuse is admissible, for even were the question doubtful, whether stern severity or firmness combined with lenity, towards a country in revolt, be the most likely to reduce it to subjection (of which however their can be *no* doubt), the natural disposition of each man would be shown in his decision. If he were a cruel tyrant he would butcher like Cromwell; if he were a generous hero he would spare like Henry Quatre. Nor had Cromwell any personal excuse. Had he before overcome these troops and again found them in arms; had they violated any duty, or broken any engagement towards him, he might have pleaded justice and example as a palliation for rigour; but no such facts existed; the people he slaughtered were opposed to him in party and religion, and such was his only motive to his most awful crime.

From Drogheda he proceeded to Wexford, of which he obtained possession by the treachery of one of the deputies sent to treat for its capitulation. While the negotiation was going on, some of the Parliamentary troops were introduced into the Castle; their appearance spread consternation through the garrison; the walls were abandoned, and the Republicans rushing in, the same scenes of blood and cruelty which had disgraced the capture of Drogheda were acted over again with many aggravations in the streets of Wexford. The unarmed inhabitants and the military were confounded in one general slaughter; neither sex nor age were spared; and three hundred women were murdered clinging to the market cross.

It would be tedious and painful to follow Cromwell through the whole of his two campaigns in Ireland, and to carry him from siege to siege. Suffice it, that with astonishing speed he subdued almost the whole of Munster. Ross,

Duncannon, Carrick, were taken before the close of 1649, as well as Youghall, Cork, Kinsale, and Bandon Bridge. Goran, Kilkenny, and Clonmell, fell in the early part of 1650; and the greater part of Ireland being reduced to submission, Cromwell left the command to his son-in-law, Ireton, and returned to England, whither he was called by affairs of still greater import.

During his absence the negotiations between Charles II. and the Scotch Commissioners were brought to a conclusion at Breda; and it became evident that the nation who had betrayed the father were about to take arms in support of the son. The young monarch had not yet sailed for the only part of his hereditary dominions which acknowledged him, when Cromwell returned to oppose him in person.

Through the whole of his proceedings in Ireland, Cromwell had maintained a close correspondence with the Parliament; and while, in fanatical ravings, he communicated to the House of Commons the success he had acquired by skill, sagacity and courage, he himself learned all that was passing in England, and prepared to interpose whenever he might find his presence necessary.

The proclamation of Charles II. as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the treaty between him and the Scottish Parliament, showed that the moment for action was now come; and Cromwell, who had been often invited back by the Commons, returned full of victory and success. Borne upon the fickle tide of popular applause, which at this period flowed full in his favour, the triumphant General approached London: and after meeting a deputation from the officers and the Parliament, which came as far as Hounslow to greet him, he entered the capital amidst the discharge of ordnance and the acclamations of the multitude.

Fairfax's attachment to the Presbyterian interest, his opposition to the more violent measures which had been pursued against royalty, and his unity of feeling with the Scots, taught the Parliament to doubt his firmness in conducting the war about to be declared against that nation; and induced them to determine upon transferring the command to Cromwell.

Whether it was proposed entirely to supersede him, or to detain him in London as General in Chief, while Crom-

well led the army to the field, can hardly be told; but Fairfax spared the Parliament all trouble on the subject, by voluntarily resigning his command when he heard of the arrival of the young monarch in Scotland, and of the universal joy with which he had been received. The Council of State pressed him, it appears, to retain his command; and Cromwell himself accompanied the deputation charged with the message to that effect. But, as most of the party were beyond doubt aware, the determination of Fairfax was now fixed; and nothing which was brought forward could shake it. The Parliament nevertheless honoured and rewarded him for his former services; and while the commission of Captain General was made out for Cromwell, Fairfax, the best intentioned, but the weakest of the Commonwealth officers, retired from the service to the bosom of his family.

Cromwell, now resolved to carry the war into the heart of Scotland, made his preparations with activity, and was in the field before July. The campaign began with manifestoes on both sides, equally filled with falsehood and hypocrisy. But in the meanwhile, Cromwell advanced rapidly to the border; and on their part, the Scots spread a report throughout the country, that the English General was about to act the same cruelties in his present warfare, which he had displayed in Ireland, with various additions, which the imagination of the people was left to improve and magnify. Cromwell, though he attempted to counteract these reports, lost no time by the way; but crossing the Tweed at Berwick, he advanced rapidly upon Edinburgh. At Musselborough, however, he halted, finding that the Scottish General, Leslie, had taken up so strong a position that it was impossible to assail it with success; and even in reconnoitring it, a part of his forces were attacked and suffered considerably in their retreat.

From Musselborough, after another severe skirmish, Cromwell retreated to Dunbar, hoping that Leslie would follow and give him battle; but that General, with cautious wisdom, which, had he persevered in it, would have destroyed the English forces, contented himself with cutting off his enemy's supplies, preventing his advance, and harassing his retreat; at the same time securing to himself, with infinite skill, all those impregnable positions which the country every where affords. The whole of August

was thus consumed in ineffectual manœuvres on the part of Cromwell, and skilful opposition on the side of the Scots. In the meanwhile the English army dwindled away under disease and scarcity; and their General at length began to think of retiring, with the weakened and harassed remains of his troops, towards their native country. The Scottish forces, now perceiving their superiority, followed closely on their retreating foes; and pressed so hard upon the English, that Cromwell in the hurry and confusion of his march suffered himself to be hemmed in near Dunbar, in a situation from which there was no escape.

Swamps and marshes impeded his progress on one side; the sea shut him in on the other; Leslie occupied a high hill on the land side; and the only pass, by fording a river flanked by a steep bank, was already in possession of the Scots. The deliberations that followed are very differently stated. It appears certain, however, that it was at one time proposed that the infantry should be sent off by sea, and that the cavalry should then attempt to force its way through the enemy. Both Lambert and Monk, who were then with Cromwell's army, strongly opposed this suggestion; and one or the other of these two proved to the council of war, that while on the one hand such a measure must necessarily produce immense and incalculable loss and danger, on the other hand, the Scottish forces might be attacked with less disadvantage than had been imagined.

Cromwell probably had before come to the same conclusion, and it was therefore determined that a battle should be risked. Notwithstanding an order to attack at break of day, the action did not begin till near six o'clock, but this proved no disadvantage, for Leslie, overpowered by the fanatics of his own party, yielded his better opinion, abandoned in some degree the advantageous ground he possessed, and descended from the hill to meet the enemy. When Cromwell first beheld them move, he is said to have exclaimed, "The Lord has delivered them into my hand!"

After a severe struggle, in which the first attack of the English was repelled, Cromwell's own regiment of infantry drove all before them, at the point of the pike. The cavalry followed, and Cromwell himself, marching on as they gained ground, remarking the sun, which had previously been hidden by a mist, shine out gloriously over the sea, raised his hand, exclaiming aloud, "Let God arise,

and let his enemies be scattered!" Enthusiasm was added instantly to courage in the minds of his soldiers; confidence gave them victory; the right wing of the enemy were driven in confusion on their centre, and all became flight and disarray. A tremendous slaughter of the fugitives then took place; and about eight thousand were made prisoners. Cromwell on this occasion displayed greater humanity than had been lately his wont. An immense number of the captives were liberated, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country were called to carry away and attend the wounded. The loss on either part it is impossible to ascertain, as the accounts rendered by Cromwell, from their evident absurdity, are unworthy of a moment's credit.

While divisions of all kinds spread amongst the Scottish people; and whilst the more fanatical ministers of the Presbyterian church, ascribing their defeat to ungodliness and not to folly, purged their army, as they expressed it, of all the best soldiers it contained, Cromwell marched on to Edinburgh, which admitted his forces without resistance, though the Castle still held out. He thence marched for Stirling, where the remnant of Leslie's forces had re-assembled, and had been joined by various other bodies of troops, which rendered their numbers even formidable, while their position was much more so. Finding it hopeless to attack them, the English General retreated first to Linlithgow, and afterwards made a movement upon Glasgow, attempting, wherever he went, to win the affections of the people, and to bring over to his side, one at least of the many parties into which Scotland was then divided.

He then returned to Edinburgh, and immediately began the siege of the Castle, against which he proceeded with great vigour, maintaining, at the same time, a long and eager theological discussion with some of the Presbyterian clergy within the walls. Whether or not, under the disguise he carried on a more fruitful correspondence with Dundas, the Governor of the Castle, it is difficult now to determine. Two things however are certain:—in the first place that Dundas made a bold and steady resistance for some time; and in the next that he surrendered while the place was still capable of long and fearless defence. This last named fact has brought a charge of treachery upon the governor; but it is to be remembered that many circumstances might have led him to the conduct he pursued,

without bribery on the one part, or treason on the other. The increasing divisions amongst the people and rulers of Scotland; the uncertainty of relief; the dangers and inconveniences to which the capital city was exposed during the siege of its citadel; and the offer of the most advantageous terms of capitulation; might each and all act in bringing Dundas to the determination which he adopted, after having sustained a siege of many weeks.

The conditions that he made for himself and his garrison, were the most advantageous it is possible to conceive on the occasion of a surrender; and the Castle being delivered to Cromwell, the Scottish forces marched out and crossed the Frith of Forth into Fife.

Cromwell spent the winter following in Edinburgh, endeavouring to conciliate the people, and regulating the military government of the country as far as it had been conquered. Early in the spring, however, he was seized with a severe intermittent fever, which incapacitated him greatly for public affairs, and even threatened his life. In the meanwhile Charles II. made every effort to increase his army and authority, by persuading the fanatics by whom he was surrounded, to admit into the service, all those steady Royalists who had previously borne arms in his own defence or that of his father, without permission of the Kirk. An immensity of hypocrisy was displayed on this subject by all the parties—the Scottish clergy demanding from the old Cavaliers profession of repentance and amendment which they knew would be false; and the Cavaliers making protestations they did not feel, and taking oaths they had not the slightest intention to keep. Nevertheless, by this means the ranks of the Royal army were considerably swelled; and much greater power in its councils was given to Charles himself. The sickness of Cromwell gave full time for completing every preparation; and having been solemnly crowned at Scone, the young King took up his position at Torwood, resolved to act on the defensive and cut off all approach to Stirling. Early in July Cromwell was once more enabled to resume active operations, and made various movement to draw his enemy from the strong position he had assumed. For this purpose he marched towards Lanarkshire; but Leslie, who in fact commanded the Royalist army, though the name remained with Charles, threw himself into the pass of Kilsyth, and obstructed his

progress in that direction. Cromwell then returned to his former ground, and Leslie resumed a defensible post near Stirling. The efforts of the English General were now turned to the opposite side of the Forth, and after sending over a detachment to secure his landing, he led the rest of the troops into Fife, and directed his course towards Perth. General Holburne who was detached from the Royal army to oppose his progress, was defeated with great loss, and Perth surrendered almost immediately.

Wearied with the burthensome fanaticism of the Scots, Charles gladly saw before him the means of penetrating into England, where he hoped to find more affection as well as reverence. and to meet with fewer insults and greater zeal, if not with such powerful support.

No sooner therefore did he see Cromwell proceed so far to the north, and leave the road to England open behind him, than breaking up his camp, Charles instantly marched for Carlisle. As he advanced, however, many of the Scots fell from him; and the levies in England were not nearly so favourable as he had anticipated. The Scots threw every obstacle in the way of success. None were admitted to join their ranks who would not take the covenant; and the same fanatic enthusiasm amongst his followers, which had raised Cromwell to the highest pitch of fortune, helped to cast away the best opportunities of his unfortunate opponent.

Notwithstanding these difficulties Charles directed his march with very little resistance till he arrived at Worcester, where he was proclaimed King of Great Britain. Here a few of the old cavaliers joined him; but want of time and preparation combined with other causes to make their arrival slow, and at the same time the efforts of the Parliament were immense and successful. Leaving Monk to command in Scotland, Cromwell hastened with the steps of a giant to follow the track of the King; and, though the troops he brought with him were small in number, the activity of the Parliament had been so great, that at Worcester, where he overtook the Scottish army, he found himself at the head of thirty thousand men. The two forces lay in presence of each other several days, during which the possession of the passages over the Severn and the Team, were hotly contended for by parties from both.

At length Cromwell seems to have resolved on attacking

the Royal army on two points, and General Fleetwood was directed to force his way over the Team, while Cromwell himself attempted to pass the Severn, for which purpose it was necessary to throw across a bridge of boats. These operations were opposed on both points with the most determined courage. The Scots for long held Fleetwood at bay, notwithstanding the great superiority of his numbers, disputing every inch of ground. At the same time Charles himself opposed the progress of Cromwell, and obtained some temporary success in the first part of the action; but neglecting to make use of his cavalry, which appears to have been left within the town, he was compelled to abandon the field by the veteran reserve which Cromwell brought up to support the Parliamentary levies. The battle continued till nightfall; and its event crushed the royal party for the time. Three thousand of the Royalists fell on the field of battle, and ten thousand are said to have been taken. Charles himself made his escape to France, but the particulars of his dangers and sufferings are too well known to need recapitulation.*

Cromwell returned in triumph towards London; and every mark of gratitude and admiration was shown him by the Parliament. Commissioners were sent to meet him at Aylesbury, and the House of Commons, with all the high officers of state, came out to receive him at Acton. Nor were honours alone the reward of his services. Fresh grants of land and money increased his revenues and his power; and possessed of almost kingly authority, he began to affect kingly state. The companions of his rise, and the followers of his fortunes, found a barrier growing up insensibly between them and their former comrade; and the royal party being now effectually crushed, Cromwell

* Of the prisoners taken at Worcester, the more influential were tried and executed. Some, if they did not merit their fate, at least had reason to expect it from the existing laws, and the warning of former events: but some also suffered in the face of justice, law, and custom. In regard to the private soldiers, the infamous practice which Cromwell had followed in Ireland, was repeated here as it had been at Dunbar. An immense number were sold as slaves to the Colonies. Where the price of this human merchandize went, I have not been able to discover; but I find no proof that Cromwell added to the infamy of introducing the custom, the baseness of appropriating the gain.

sought to raise himself above his equals, to the place from whence he had hurled down those originally above him. The palaces of a hundred kings became the habitual dwellings of the successful soldier; pomp and glitter attended his footsteps; and though still plain in his own appearance, and simple in his habits, he surrounded himself with the splendour which captivates, after having acquired the power which commands.

The ends which he proposed to work out by the Parliament were now accomplished; and he began to weary of the instrument with which he had wrought them. His whole design became, therefore, to lay aside that body as soon as possible; and this intention became so evident that there were few who did not suspect or discover something of the ambitious schemes which floated in his mind.

In regard to the army, his views and his conduct were very different. The only firm basis of his power had been its affection, and as soon as he had determined upon pursuing a course of individual aggrandisement, which he knew would be opposed by such of its members as had most contributed to his first rise, he applied himself calmly and diligently to remove them from their posts, and to supply their places with those less scrupulous men, with whom war was more a trade, who were contented to be soldiers without affecting to be saints, and who were good officers without being either preachers or politicians. The organization of the different corps also he greatly changed, and took good care that the same spirit of insubordination with which he had ruled the Parliament, should not be opposed to himself. All this was done slowly and quietly, and was begun long before his invasion of Scotland, so that by the time the dispersion of the King's forces had taken place at Worcester, the army was a much more governable machine than it had been since the commencement of the civil war.

It is not unworthy of remark in this place, that while Cromwell was all this time working by the basest of human means, for the gratification of the most selfish of human passions, the tone of his religious enthusiasm grew of a stronger and more vehement character, not only in appearance, it would seem, but in reality. Doubtless, as he felt himself obliged to rely more and more upon the Independents, even while he violated many of their political prin-

ciples, he found himself called upon to court their favour in other points, by a stronger display of attachment to their religious follies. Yet it is beyond all question, that in many instances Cromwell was himself the dupe of his own hypocrisy; that, governed himself by a dark and hypochondriacal fanaticism, he made it the means of governing others; and that by affecting more of the frenzied enthusiasm of the times than he felt, for the purpose of deceiving others, he increased and excited that which he really did feel himself.

One of the first steps of Cromwell after having returned to London was to remind the Parliament of a very unpleasant topic of discussion, which had been often spoken of but long delayed, namely their own dissolution. In this, as well as in the proposal of a general amnesty, he was successful, notwithstanding a strong opposition; and the House of Commons voted that the period of their farther sitting should be confined to three years. His immense increase of power, his success on the present occasion, and all the honours and distinctions he had received since the battle of Worcester, seem to have led Cromwell to the belief that the moment was arrived in which he could safely assume the sovereign power. But cautious in this as in all things, he proposed several questions to a general meeting of the most influential persons in the state and the army, regarding the future government of the country, which he doubted not would soon in discussion display the views and feelings of all parties. Many present boldly declared their opinion in favour of a mixed form of Government, in which the power of the monarch should be checked by a House of Peers and Commons; and Cromwell announced his own sentiments on the same side. But when it came to be considered to whom the throne thus limited could be offered, Charles II., the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, were mentioned; but Cromwell himself seemed never to enter the minds of his companions. Finding that much must intervene before his purpose could be accomplished, Cromwell, disappointed but undismayed, pursued his course and bent his efforts against the Parliament.

That body easily seeing that, whatever might be the ulterior views of the Lord General, the diminution of their

power was his present object, resolved to counteract his design by undermining his own. For this purpose they foolishly directed their most open attempts against the army; and as an initiative measure, voted the reduction of its members. It was Cromwell's fate, both in war and in policy, to see many of his most difficult undertakings accomplished by the folly of his opponents; and never did this appear more strongly than in the conduct of the Parliament. A spirit of hostility was immediately generated towards it in the ranks of the army; and without the slightest apparent effort on the part of Cromwell, the Council of War deputed six officers to present a humble petition and remonstrance at the bar of the House of Commons, praying for the arrears due to the army, and boldly insulting the deliberative assembly of the nation, by reproach and advice.

The Parliament were highly indignant at this calm affront; and finding in some degree their error, proceeded to tamper with several of the Lord General's officers, endeavouring to stir up a spirit of rivalry against him, which might impede his ambitious progress. In this they were not totally unsuccessful; but pursuing at the same time their dangerous scheme of reducing the army, they strongly influenced the great majority of the military against themselves, and in favour of any measure that Cromwell might propose.

In the meanwhile Cromwell steadily followed his object; and while he continued to agitate the minds of the soldiers with reports of the intentions of Parliament, he consulted frequently with his boldest friends on the means of forcing that body to a dissolution.

About this time died Ireton, his son-in-law, a man who, though he had served Cromwell faithfully and powerfully, maintained a great influence on the mind of his wife's father. Every reason exists for believing that he was a sincere and steady republican, and would have strenuously opposed the ambitious views which Cromwell entertained. His death, therefore, may have removed one check from the great General's actions; and after that period* we certainly find his movements much more rapid towards the attainment of his chief purpose.

The only occasion, however, on which he boldly spoke

* November 26th, 1652.

his thoughts on the subject of assuming the crown was in a conversation with Whitelock, who endeavoured to dissuade him from his design. Nevertheless, he continued to urge his measures against the Parliament, till that body finding their speedy dissolution inevitable, and seeing that the army would drive them forth if they did not themselves call a new House, they endeavoured to hurry through a bill which, instead of removing them from their places, would have fixed them there more steadily, and only increased their party. They provided that they were to remain part of the new Parliament, whether returned in the new election or not, and they were to have a discretionary power of accepting or rejecting the new members, according to their opinion of their fitness.

The absurdity and impudence of this bill, made them all feel that they would never be allowed to carry it through without great haste ; and they had nearly proceeded to its completion, when Cromwell, informed of what was passing, entered the house. He listened to their proceedings for some time without apparent passion, but at length, rising as the speaker was about to put the question, he began a discourse, from which he soon deviated into the most vehement invective, and ended by exclaiming, "You are no Parliament—The Lord has done with you;—I tell you you are no longer a Parliament—You shall sit here no longer to cheat the people." He then stamped vehemently on the floor, and called out to "bring them in!" when the house was immediately filled with soldiers. One of the members, on their appearance declared "This is not honest—It is against common honesty!" but Cromwell turning upon him answered, in furious tone, "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane! He might have prevented this, but he has not common honesty himself!" He then continued his abuse of the different members of the House before the soldiery, declaring that he had sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay him than put him upon that work ; and at length directed the troops to clear the house, which was done after a show of resistance by the Speaker. He then ordered the mace to be taken away as a useless bauble ; and having received the act of dissolution he locked the door, and left the place where so many noisy and factious voices had rung, and so many criminal acts

had been devised, to the tranquillity of silence and the innocence of vacancy.

The Council of State followed into the grave the Parliament from which it had had its being; and on the same evening its deliberations were put a stop to by Cromwell, who himself appointed a new Council of State, consisting of thirteen members, of whom nine were officers of the army. Cromwell had now in fact assumed the sovereign power, he made peace and war, he entered into treaties with foreign nations, he placed and displaced the judges and officers of state, he levied taxes on his own authority, and was King in all but the name.

Finding however that many doubted him, and some dreamed of opposition, he endeavoured to lull the minds of the people by solemn but vague declarations; and promises and schemes of new modes of government. Circumstances soon occurred to induce him to call a Parliament, which he so contrived as to give more stability to his authority by the appearance of national sanction. No such dangerous and uncertain means as a regular election was resorted to. The persons considered worthy of a seat, were named to the Lord General by the Independent ministers, and from these Cromwell selected a hundred and fifty, who were summoned by writ under the usurper's own hand and seal. This assembly of fanatics, from the name of one of its most distinguished members "Praise God Barebones," was called Barebones' Parliament. They proved, nevertheless, somewhat refractory; and proposed so many startling changes, that Cromwell found it necessary to send them back to the places from whence they came. A part were induced to acknowledge their own incompetence, and the rest were easily turned out by a sergeant's guard.

By this time the army, on whom Cromwell depended for support, had been very generally brought over to his elevation; and the people had grown accustomed to his rule, by the passing of several months. The title of King he found it more politic not to assume, but on the 16th of December he was solemnly inaugurated, Protector, in Westminster Hall. Pomp, and ceremony, and a mixture of military and civil parade, were added to give dignity to the transaction; and from that day, without the name of monarch, Cromwell exercised more despotic authority

than any King of England has been permitted to hold since his time.

Opposition and danger however still awaited him; and though he used every art of hypocrisy to make the nation believe that the power he had assumed had been forced upon him, and that his motives were disinterested, none believed, and few respected him. State and show did not procure him honour; elevation gave him no security; and power refused him peace. The first Parliament he summoned after snatching the Protectorate, began by investigating his title, and were only brought to desist by force, and by the exclusion of many of the members. Several of the clergy preached against him in the pulpits, and seditious tracts and pamphlets incited to revolt against his government, and menaced his person with attack. Still his administration of public affairs was firm, regular, and active. Frugality, order, and justice, were preserved at home; the honour of the nation was maintained abroad; and the territories of England were extended in various directions; foreign monarchs treated with the British usurper as equal with equal; the superiority of the seas was asserted and enforced; Holland and Spain were humbled; Scotland and Ireland were reduced; and the character of Cromwell was admired by those whom distance of station or country prevented from seeing any part but its greatness; while it was contemned by those to whom daily communication proved its selfishness, its baseness, and its falsehood.

Various conspiracies, both by the Royalists and Republicans, against his life, the Protector discovered and suppressed, by means of an immense number of hired spies, which he had spread through every rank of society. A feeble attempt at insurrection, conducted by two weak and violent royalists, Penruddock and Grove, was instantly put down; and afforded a fair excuse for oppressing the Cavaliers and wringing from them large contributions. The liberty of the press was also soon attacked; and the Parliament still proving refractory, were again dismissed without ceremony.

Gradually as Cromwell proceeded, the opposition he encountered, the hate and contempt he knew to exist against his person, and the insecurity of his government altogether, drove him on from one arbitrary act to another, and rendered that man a tyrant who was perhaps intended

by nature for a just and impartial magistrate. The elections for Parliament were biassed by every means that the jealous daring of usurped power could suggest or carry through; and after the returns had been made, the assembly was purged, as he expressed it, by his Council, of all such members as were obnoxious to the Protector.

The House of Commons, thus selected, was of course an instrument in Cromwell's hands; but the nation murmured loudly, the army even was shaken in its attachment, and Cromwell owed his security more to the disunion and multitude of opinions prevalent amongst his enemies, than to any individual strength. To guard against revolt, to repress the turbulent state of the country, and render a number of the military dependent upon his government, the usurper portioned out the whole provinces he governed, to a number of officers holding the title of Major-General, to whom he entrusted the most exorbitant power. At the same time, his subservient Parliament placed in his hands the last great instrument of despotism, a special commission for trying all persons accused of imagining his death, or the restoration of the house of Stuart, without reference to a jury. The high courts of justice, in which any seventeen of these Special Commissioners were authorized to try cases of high treason, admitted of no appeal but to the Protector himself, so that in fact the life of the accused was in his hands.

Shortly after these new commissions, Cromwell contrived that the offer of the crown should be made to him by the Parliament. The honour of declining the splendid bauble, though certainly an alternative within the scope of Cromwell's calculations, was certainly not his chief object in promoting the offer. There was something in the name of King that his vanity coveted, and it may be, that he hoped in some degree to stamp stability on his usurped power, by giving it a name connected with old institutions. He hesitated for some time in forming his determination, but finding that the very proposal gave deep offence to the army, he made a merit of necessity, and declined the dangerous honour to which he had long aspired.

Although he thus rejected the office of King, the famous memorial presented on the occasion, called "The Petition and Advice" introduced a considerable change into the

state of the government. The Protectorate, which Cromwell had assumed, was now bestowed upon him by the national assembly, which at the same time authorized him to name his successor, and to appoint or create another House of Peers, while one million three hundred thousand pounds were voted for the current expenses of his government. At the same time, various of those powers which he had hitherto exercised were restricted by Parliament, but Cromwell willingly made some sacrifice to give a more solid foundation to his authority. To mark this as strongly as possible, he was again installed in Westminster Hall, where the Speaker of the House of Commons bestowed upon him, with a long and ceremonious speech, a robe of purple velvet, a sceptre, and a sword.

The rest of Cromwell's life may be narrated very briefly. A strong opposition was raised against him in the next Parliament which he called. The House of Peers named by himself, unsupported by ancient rank, fortune, distinction, or any other quality which ensures respect, and attacked continually by the other House, soon fell into contempt. The officers of the army murmured highly, and many of them were cashiered or dismissed. Various bodies of Cavaliers began to rise in different parts of the kingdom; and the Marquis of Ormond came over from the Netherlands to put himself at their head. But still the mind of the protector bore up against all. The plans of the Cavaliers were defeated; their small forces dispersed, and several of their leaders taken and executed. The new Parliament was dismissed as unceremoniously as those that had preceded it; and Cromwell, taking the whole government into his own hands, resolved to rule without the cumbrous appendage of a national representation.

February 1658, was a month of great rejoicing in the family of the Protector, from the marriage of his two daughters, the one to Lord Falconbridge and the other to Mr. Rich. But in the course of March a pamphlet written by one Colonel Titus, was thrown into very general circulation. It was called "Killing no Murder," and tended to prove that it was just and reasonable to assassinate the Protector. The writing was bold and spirited, and it ended with vague assertions in regard to the innu-

merable hands which were privately armed against the life of the Usurper.

Such an intimation was much better calculated to daunt the heart of Cromwell, than a thousand armies in the field. His dark and gloomy imagination, furnished with such abundant materials for horrible fancies, presented to him the assassin's knife continually at his throat. The vagueness of the danger, rendered it dreadful to a mind that feared nothing tangible. He had had continual proof that such designs against his person really existed; and they were now always present to his mind. He is reported never to have smiled again; but domestic grief soon came to aid the gloom of hypochondriac apprehension.

His favourite daughter Elizabeth, after the death of her husband, Mr. Claypole, had never fully recovered from the sorrows of such a loss. It is a favourite error with people who have no feeling themselves, that strong minds are unsusceptible of deep grief. It is true that minor cares may make no impression; but the feelings once received by persons of such a character, are like lines engraven upon steel and last for ever. Her father's talents and decision had descended to Elizabeth Cromwell more perhaps than to any other of his children, and they had come down to her unmixed with any particle of his baser nature. She had ever been his favourite child, and though constantly opposing with the noblest zeal of filial affection, the hypocritical ambition which called down disgrace on her father's name, she still remained beloved. Her husband's death had brought a deep melancholy upon her: and all the great events in which her heart was unwillingly forced to take a share,—the blood she saw spilt, the crimes she beheld committed, apprehensions for her father's safety, and sorrow for his crimes—carried her gradually to the brink of the grave.

Cromwell hung over the bed of his dying child with affectionate anxiety seldom known to the restless selfishness of ambition; but neither his love nor his cares could save her, and she died on the 6th of August 1658, raving on subjects which showed how deeply his crimes had affected her heart. Anxiety and grief had already shaken the constitution of the Usurper; and finding the fever by which he had been attacked in Scotland return with redoubled force, he quitted Hampton Court, where his daughter had

expired, a few days after her death, and returned dying to Whitehall. He soon saw that his physicians apprehended danger, and at first bore the knowledge of his fate calmly, desiring to sit up and execute his will. But after a time his apprehensions seem to have increased; and his only support appeared to be in the visionary assurances of recovery which he believed himself to receive from Heaven. His last moments, indeed, during which he deceived himself, with the same fanatical dreams, which he had often employed as a means of deceiving others for the base purposes of individual aggrandizement, clearly prove how nearly allied hypocrisy may be to enthusiasm. At length, on the 3d of September, the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Oliver Cromwell expired; and the day of his death was also marked by the most extraordinary tempest of wind that ever visited these islands; a circumstance which all writers have commemorated, however unworthy of notice, but which shows a singular point of coincidence with the death of Napoleon Bonaparte. At the time of his decease he had accomplished fifty-nine years, four months, and eight days; and had exercised the sovereign power about five years. In person he was strongly made and robust, but somewhat clumsy. His face was harsh in feature, and a large nose of a fiery red, afforded subject of merriment to the Cavaliers after they had suffered a thousand defeats from his hand. A man's character can alone be traced in his actions; and inasmuch as Cromwell studiously strove to veil the motives of everything he did under the most varied and most impenetrable disguises, many of the finer shades of his mind are lost never to be discovered; but at the same time the broad fact of his universal deceitfulness stands forth more prominently. He cheated all classes and all professions; he betrayed all parties and all men; and probably there did not exist one individual who could say that Cromwell had ever treated him with perfect sincerity. Whichever party was right in the civil war, Cromwell was wrong, for he deceived and injured them all. His aim was his own aggrandizement; his principle selfishness; his means hypocrisy. He possessed vast talent of every kind, but his principal talent was deceit; and though he had infinite presence of mind, great self-command, exquisite discernment of human character; was a mighty commander, a skilful politician, and a man

of wonderful powers; he was a hypocrite, a knave, and a villain, who made use, during a long life, of the most magnificent powers, to accomplish the basest objects, and died universally hated, condemned, and despised.*

GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

A PETTY town and a decayed family in Devonshire, produced the man destined in after-life to work one of the greatest changes that has ever taken place in the fate of this country.

George Monk was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and was born on the 6th of December, 1608. His family estates were embarrassed, and his father was incumbered with debt, so that difficulties of a painful and inglorious nature surrounded him in his youth. The extreme prudence for which he was afterwards distinguished did not display itself in his early years; and it is said, that the consequences of having cudgelled an attorney, who, contrary to express promise, had arrested his father at a great public meeting, was the immediate cause of his having been sent to Spain with the unfortunate expedition under Sir Richard Grenville.

Whether this was the case or not, no doubt can be entertained that, from his youth, George Monk had been destined by his family for the army; and after this first campaign, in which he served as a volunteer, he received an ensign's commission, and devoted himself entirely to the service.

The war with France, and the expedition to the Isle of Ré succeeded; and there, as afterwards in the Low Coun-

* It may not be uninteresting to notice, that both Bonaparte and Cromwell, who had each confronted so many dangers in the field, had nearly been cut off in mid-career, in attempting to drive a set of beautiful horses presented by the sycophancy of a neighbouring state.

tries, he studied war as an art, and perfected himself in his profession. At about the age of thirty he was made captain in the regiment of Lord Goring, but shortly after threw up his commission, on some quarrel between his soldiers and the Burghers of Dort, and returned to England, where the first symptoms of the great rebellion were beginning to show themselves. The trial of Lord Balmerino, the attempt to reclaim the church lands, and the imposition of an obnoxious form of religion on the people of Scotland, joined, it is believed, to the instigation of secret agents from the Cardinal de Richelieu, and promises of support from France, induced the Scottish nation to take arms and to march into England.

In the short and fatal campaign which ensued, Monk, who had acquired a reputation in Holland, was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and probably would have distinguished himself, had the war been prosecuted with vigour by the king and his government; but weakness and indecision were in the councils of England, and this first rebellion was terminated by a disgraceful treaty, which held out every encouragement to future sedition, by paying traitors for their treason.

The Irish very soon followed the successful example of the Scotch; and the Earl of Leicester, a distant relation of Colonel Monk, was appointed to succeed the Earl of Strafford as Lord Lieutenant of that turbulent country.

Monk was now appointed Colonel of the Earl of Leicester's regiment, and despatched to Ireland to serve with the Earl of Ormond. Here under very difficult circumstances he greatly increased his military reputation; but he was neither suffered to prosecute the war in Ireland vigorously or long. The disputes had by this time proceeded far between the unhappy Charles and his Parliament. At first the supplies for the Irish army were retarded or detained, and at last Charles was obliged to recall a great part of his forces and grant a truce to the Irish rebels. Monk was one of the officers sent back to England, but on his arrival at Bristol, he found that Charles, with the imprudent suspicion which alienated so many from his interest, had ordered him to be arrested on account of his connexion with the Earl of Leicester. Lord Hawley, however, who put the arrest in execution, was so satisfied of Colonel Monk's loyalty, that he permitted

him to proceed to Oxford on his parole to justify himself to the King. In the attempt to do so, Monk was completely successful; and, his regiment having been given to another, he was appointed Major General of the Irish Brigade. He immediately hastened to Chester, where, joining Lord Byron, his commander-in-chief, he shared in the engagement with the Parliament forces at Middlewich, and with the rest followed the fugitives to Nantwich. Fairfax instantly hastened to the relief of that place, and proceeding with immense expedition, overtook the royal forces before they were aware of his march, routed them completely, and took a considerable number of prisoners, amongst whom was General Monk.

He was instantly sent to Hull, and thence conveyed to the Tower of London, where the Parliament, being well aware of his value, detained him for nearly four years, urging him by every means in their power to abandon the cause of the King.

For long Monk seems to have entertained hopes that the court would negotiate his exchange; but although Charles did not forget him, and is said to have conveyed to him in prison a sum of money for his support, yet others were liberated while he continued to languish in confinement, and we may well believe that every day increased his desire for freedom. At length, by a rather curious coincidence, the Parliament and the King united in declaring the Irish insurgents to be rebels; and Lord Lisle, the son of the Earl of Leicester, was appointed, by the Parliment, commander-in-chief of a body of forces despatched to that country. Monk was offered his liberty upon condition of serving in this army, and he appears to have accepted it with delight. He was not called to serve against the King; and though he did not display on this occasion that noble and devoted loyalty which many of the Cavaliers displayed, his conduct, though not admirable, was at least excusable. He accordingly accompanied his cousin to Ireland, where the Earl of Ormond, commanding for the King, refused to receive the Parliamentary forces in Dublin, and consequently Lord Lisle was obliged to direct his course towards the south, and effect his landing at Cork.

No very brilliant success attended this expedition; and

at the end of a few months, Lisle and Monk returned to England.

Whether Monk expressed a determination not to serve the Parliament, in actual opposition to the King; or whether the rebels themselves did not choose to trust him in a situation where inducements and opportunities would not have been wanting to return to the royal cause, can hardly now be ascertained; but it is certain that he was almost immediately appointed to command the forces in the north of Ireland. Here with small means and refractory troops, he maintained his ground steadily against the well known O'Neal, and carried on the war with success till after the murder of the King had been perpetrated in London. In the end, however, the Scotch forces under his command having been withdrawn, and a part of the English troops having gone over to the Royalists under the Marquis of Ormond, Monk concluded a treaty with O'Neal, and returned to England.

For some time after this Monk seems to have remained unemployed; and, during the interval, succeeded to the entailed estates of his family by the death of his elder brother without heirs male. Up to this period General Monk had not on any occasion been required to oppose a royal army. His operations in Ireland had been against rebels equally obnoxious to the King and the Parliament; but after Cromwell's reduction of that island, which I have mentioned in the preceding pages, the former Royalist was called upon to accompany the Parliamentary general in his expedition against the Royalists of Scotland.

It is vain to seek for any palliation of General Monk's conduct on this occasion. The plain facts are—it was dangerous to refuse Cromwell's offers; it was advantageous to accept them—and we find Monk marching into Scotland with the regicide general to oppose the army raised in favour of the young King. Many, it is true, had set him the example of abandoning their ancient loyalty, but the stain was not the less deep upon the name of each.

The advance of Cromwell upon Edinburgh, his difficulties and dangers, and his retreat upon Dunbar have been already noticed. At the battle of Dunbar, in which the Royalist forces under Leslie were so disgracefully defeated, Monk distinguished himself by a vigorous and successful charge, and having once unsheathed his sword against the King,

Cromwell seems to have trusted him with unlimited confidence. Edinburgh was soon taken, and the greater part of the south of Scotland submitted to the English, while Charles II. retired to Stirling, and endeavoured by persuasions, concessions, and even hypocrisy, to remove the fanatical disunion of the Scotch, and to raise a sufficient force once more to take the field. In the summer of the following year, a great part of the English passed over into Fife, and Charles, taking advantage of their absence, hurried on into England. Cromwell instantly followed, but Monk was left behind to carry on the war in Scotland, and while the fatal battle of Worcester was lost and won, he stormed Dundee, took Stirling, and overrun the great part of the lower counties.

Monk was a strict disciplinarian, and Bishop Burnet remarks upon the rigid demeanor of his soldiers, "I remember well of three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety amongst them, that amazed all people." Such conduct harmonizing well with the character of the Scotch, and offending neither their prejudices nor their pride, won for the English general a high share of their esteem and respect. He was soon obliged to leave the country from illness, but was afterwards sent down again with the Commissioners charged to incorporate Scotland with the English Commonwealth. Monk's influence tended greatly to facilitate this object, and after remaining some time in Scotland, he seems to have returned to England with no specific command. The greatest victory, however, which he ever achieved was now before him, though the arms with which it was fought were new to him, and the element on which it was obtained, was one on which he had never before commanded.

During his absence in Scotland, war had been declared between Holland and England. Various successes had for some time attended the fleets of the two great maritime powers, and alternately Blake and Van Tromp had been the victors and the vanquished. At length, however, with an inferior fleet, the English admiral was met by the Dutch, completely defeated, and seriously wounded. Upon this event, the naval and the military services being by no means so distinct as they have since been rendered, General Monk was appointed to the command of the fleet, with Dean as

rear-admiral. The English armament instantly sailed in pursuit of the Dutch, who, after the defeat of Blake, had proceeded to the Isle of Ré to escort back a large fleet of merchant vessels to the ports of Holland. On the coast of France the English admiral first descried the enemy, commanded by Van Tromp and Van de Ruyter. Some authorities declare the Dutch to have been greater in number, and some attribute that superiority to the English, but it is more than probable that the fleets were very equally matched, though Van Tromp was in some degree embarrassed with his convoy. The battle continued three days, and at length Van Tromp was forced to make his retreat with considerable loss. He saved, however, the greater part of his convoy, though a sufficient number were taken to afford both the proof and fruit of victory. The English fleet was much damaged in the action, but as soon as it was possible, Monk again sailed in pursuit of the enemy, and before long, once more encountered Van Tromp on the coast of Flanders.

On the second of June, 1653 the English admirals bore down upon the enemy, and the Dutch quietly lay to, to receive them. Admiral Dean, who at the time was in the same ship with Monk, was killed by the side of his brother officer by one of the first shots fired. Monk betrayed no emotion, but casting his cloak over his fallen companion, proceeded with his commands as before. The battle soon became general, and all writers join in praising the activity, skill, and decision of General Monk, who thus at the age of forty-five found himself engaged in a new scene, and opposed to the greatest seaman of his day, with the fortune of his country and the honour of his nation upon his hands.

Through the whole day the fight continued, and night only suspended it, for the next morning to see it renewed again. The efforts on both sides were extraordinary, but at length, after one of the most terrible engagements on record, the English fleet prevailed, and the Dutch admiral was obliged to run upon the flats near Dunkirk, after sustaining a serious loss. It is scarcely possible to arrive at any certainty in regard to numbers in matters of history, for one of the chief weaknesses of the human mind seems to be a propensity to exaggerate, even where vanity or pride do not contribute to obscure the truth. Some say that the

Dutch lost nineteen ships of war, some say eleven, but all agree that the victory remained with England, and that Monk covered himself with immortal honour.

Monk now lay upon the coast of Holland, and for a time the Dutch commerce was at an end; but before two months had passed, Van Tromp was again upon the seas, and the two fleets were engaged off the Texel.

The battle again lasted beyond the day, and the commanders on both sides seem to have staked honour and life upon the event. The general order given to the English fleet by Monk was, to sink the enemy and make no prizes, so that the victorious ships might not be embarrassed by those they captured.

The Dutch admiral was not less active or less resolute; but, after an action continued during three days, Van Tromp fell, and his shattered fleet was driven into the Texel, with the loss of thirty of its best vessels.

So severe a defeat reduced the United Provinces to propose terms to England which they would formerly have rejected with contempt: but the notions of the miserable body of fanatics who were then sitting at Westminster under the name of a Parliament, were so wild and visionary, that the ambassadors from the Dutch republic found no possible means of treating.

Amongst other insane dreams, the Fifth Monarchy men, as they were called, would listen to nothing but the incorporation of Holland into their projected spiritual kingdom; and as this did not at all accord with the views of the mercantile Dutchmen, it is probable that war would have been renewed, had not Cromwell found it necessary to dismiss the Parliament. Occupied with the consolidation of his power at home, the usurper granted the Dutch better terms than their power, in its depressed state, could have enforced; and at the same time here called Monk to take once more the command in Scotland, where he was threatened by various parties of Royalists under Athol, Glencairn, and Middleton.

During the absence of Monk, Lilburn had commanded in Scotland; and, equally irresolute and fanatical, he had irritated the Scotch by the excesses he tolerated, without daring to repress the insurrections which his misconduct favoured.

Without delay Monk set out for the scene of difficulty,

and finding that the danger had arisen as much from the idleness of the Parliamentary army as from the activity of their enemies, he instantly prepared to remedy the one evil while he met the other. His forces were immediately drawn into the Highlands, where. by fatiguing and difficult marches, and well-timed and skilful evolutions, he at once reduced his soldiers to discipline and obedience, and counteracted the designs of the Royalists. Nor by this conduct did he in fact injure the royal cause, for the temporary success which any of the petty insurrections in the Highlands might have met with, would only at that time have been followed by total and overwhelming defeat. Monk's motives must ever remain a matter of doubt: he might be actuated by remembered loyalty; he might be guided by prudent calculation for future advantage; but still, as he seems on all occasions to have abstained with scrupulous care from acting offensively against the Royalists, we may rationally conclude that he foresaw the great probability of a re-action in public opinion, and the restoration of the house of Stuart.

With the most cautious steps he pursued the Earl of Middleton, pressing him continually back into the mountains without ever being brought to an engagement, notwithstanding the eagerness of his own officers, and all the endeavours of the enemy to force him to fight. General Morgan, however, who commanded a body of the Parliamentary forces, detached from Monk's army, encountered and defeated a part of Middleton's force, which caused the dispersion of the rest. Cromwell at the same time held out advantageous offers of peace and immunity to all the Royalists of Scotland who would lay down their arms, and thus tranquillity was soon restored to the country.

After having passed some months in marches through a district which the natives had fancied utterly impracticable for regular troops, General Monk returned into the Lowlands, and established his head-quarters at Dalkeith. His time was divided between rural enjoyments and the preservation of peace throughout the country, and it is generally admitted, that except from the schism which divided the Scottish church, that part of the island in which Monk commanded, enjoyed a greater share of calm prosperity than Scotland had known for a long series of years.

Authority which has sprung out of the midst of revolu-

tion and commotion, dare often do much that hereditary power could not attempt without destruction; and during Monk's stay at Dalkeith the great body of the gentry were disarmed, and a check put upon the gratification of those private feuds and family hatreds which had so long been a detriment and disgrace to the country.

As Cromwell's own schemes of power extended, and new views of aggrandizement opened on his sight, he unwillingly trusted any great share of authority in the hands of another man. To lessen Monk's influence without depriving himself of the use of his talents, the Protector sent down a council of State to Scotland, consisting of seven persons, of whom the General was one. The power of a state, however, which was alone kept in subjection by the army, of course remained in the hands of him who commanded, and Cromwell seems from time to time to have been jealous of General Monk, though either his suspicion was not sufficiently strong to induce that officer's removal, or the danger attending such a step appeared to the wary usurper greater than the advantage to be obtained. He is said to have written a letter on one occasion to that officer, in the postscript of which he makes use of the following singular words: "There be who tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

On what authority this letter stands I am not aware; but it is not unlikely that, amongst the many varied and cunning artifices with which Cromwell strove to read the hearts of those he doubted, this may have been one. Certain it is, also, that the regiments in Scotland were continually changed; and that the wildest and most untractable corps were sent down to relieve those which were withdrawn from Monk's command. This proceeding was doubtless intended to prevent that officer from acquiring too much influence with the troops; but as Monk, though strict as a disciplinarian, was both just and liberal to the soldiers, it is very likely that his reputation was thus spread through the whole service, and that the very means taken to confine his power enabled him afterwards to perform so much.

Of General Monk's domestic life I do not find much

trace ; but it would appear that he had now been married for some years, and that at Dalkeith House his privacy was sweetened by the enjoyment of all the dearest relationships of life.

The death of one of his sons, bearing his own name George, is recorded during his stay in Scotland, and he is said to have been more deeply affected by this loss than his general fortitude and equable disposition had taught his family to expect. The only public annoyance which greatly disturbed his command, was the well-known conspiracy of Colonel Overton, who went far in a scheme for overthrowing the government of the Protector, and for murdering both Monk and Cromwell. Monk, however, was cautious and wary ; and, long before the plot was ripe for execution, he had obtained information of its existence and its extent. A sufficient time was given to allow the conspirators completely to commit themselves, after which they were severally arrested in their quarters. Overton was sent to London for Cromwell's own decision, and the rest were punished and dispersed.

On the third of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell yielded his uneasy life, and Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector. Immediate news was sent down to Scotland of these events, and the ceremony of proclamation was performed in Edinburgh by order of Monk. One of the first acts of Richard Cromwell was to write to the commander in Scotland, and desire his assistance and advice. Monk's answers were nearly as ambiguous as some of the late Protector's own speeches, but they were civil and respectful ; and with his usual prudent maxim of taking advantage of events, rather than striving to guide them, he remained calmly in Scotland, securing his own power, extending his own influence, courted by all parties, understood by none, and looking forward to that time when action might be effectual.

The brief protectorate of Richard Cromwell ended in a few days, with the full conviction of the whole nation that some great change must be operated in the constitution of the government. The wretched remnant of the Long Parliament re-assembled, the army restrained and overawed the state, the fanatics formed a junto, and endeavoured to overthrow the whole institutions of society ; and the City of London opposed all parties and demanded a free and re-

gular representation of the country. All was anarchy and confusion; and the different factions, which the strong genius of Cromwell had been hardly able to keep in subjection, now threw off all control, and spent their fury on each other. For a time the army, or rather a council of officers representing that body, obtained the ascendancy, and supported the shadow of a Parliament, which had now received the contemptuous name of the Rump. This coalition gave a temporary power to both, and as the immense influence of General Monk in Scotland was judged dangerous, messengers were sent to him for the apparent purpose of giving him notice of the changes in the government, but in reality with the design of seducing his soldiers. Attempts were also made to remove his chief officers, and remodel his army, but Monk remonstrated in such a tone as soon caused the Parliament to desist.

A weak and ill-timed endeavour to restore the King having by its total miscarriage strengthened the hands of the Rump, and elated its pride, that body determined to reduce the army in England to obedience. The council of officers, with Lambert at their head, resisted, and the two parties were soon at furious variance. In the meanwhile the royal cause, which, though kept down, had never been destroyed in England, strengthened and spread itself in various directions; and at the same time the immense body of Presbyterians, warned by experience, and influenced by hatred to the fanatics, leaned strongly towards a restoration.

Secret agents for the King had never been wanting in England, and amongst others was Sir John Granville, a cousin of General Monk. This gentleman had been permitted to compound for his estate under Cromwell, and had presented the living of Kelhampton to Nicholas Monk, brother to the General of that name. No sooner, therefore, was it determined in the council of the exiled King, to try to win the commander of the army in Scotland, than his brother was sent for to London, and entrusted with the mission. Monk was desired to make his own terms and every promise was added, in the King's own handwriting, which might hold out sufficient temptations to induce him to join the Royal party.

The clergyman procured a passage in a ship about to sail for Leith, through the general's brother-in-law, Dr.

Clarges, who was one of the Commissaries in London. His voyage was quick, and he soon found means of communicating to Monk his mission, and the proposals he was charged to make. General Monk heard all and made many inquiries, but replied nothing; and his brother seems to have remained in perfect ignorance of his designs. According to report, on one occasion, but one occasion only, he betrayed himself, which was when his chaplain, Dr. Price, a steady Royalist, pressed him to hasten his measures. "Would you, by over haste," he exclaimed, "bring my head to the block for the King, and ruin the whole design." His brother was sent back to London unsatisfied and deceived; and Monk, shut up in impenetrable reserve, meditated in silence over the great events in which he was destined soon to act.

The negotiator for the King had not departed, when both the Council of Officers and the Rump Parliament, applied to Monk for support, in their contest with each other. Monk knew the innate weakness of the Parliament, and resolved therefore to support a body he could control at his pleasure, rather than one which would resist his will. He accordingly at once declared himself in favour of the Parliament, and charged his brother, who was on the eve of his departure for London, with a message to Commissary Clarges, offering to march his forces into England if the Council of Officers continued refractory. Thus supported, the Rump overrated their power, urged their dispute to extremity with the army, and were in consequence once more expelled by Lambert and his associates, who instituted a Committee of Safety, as it was called, for the purpose of carrying on the Government.

It is probable that Monk had foreseen these changes, and had already determined to take advantage of them for the restoration of the Royal Family. At all events his preparations were carried on with unceasing alacrity and care. Considerable sums of money were provided, and large stores of ammunition were laid up. Warned by Dr. Clarges that Colonel Cobbet, sent down by the Committee of Safety with a specious compliment, had orders to seduce his officers and arrest himself, if found opposed to the views it entertained, Monk at once laid hands upon the deputy and sent him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh which city, with

every other point of importance, he had taken care to secure by the presence of his most faithful adherents.

He then prepared for his famous march upon London, declaring that he acted upon two general principles. First, that the military force must be subservient to the civil; and second, that the present constitution of the Commonwealth was to be administered by Parliaments. As the time advanced he took every measure of prudence also to secure co-operation. It appears that he opened a communication with Lord Fairfax, who agreed to raise Yorkshire in his favour; and that he wrote both to the officers of the fleet and to the army in Ireland, who for some time remained neuter. His pretence was still the restoration of the Parliament, though no one can doubt that he never dreamed that the weak and fanatic remnant who assumed that title, could hold their seats one month after the army was put down. Still with such caution did he veil his thoughts, that no one penetrated his designs; and as he marched, he took care to make known, both by letters and printed declarations, that the army of Scotland only proposed to defend the freedom and privilege of Parliament, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the people against all opposition whatever; without any contention with the army of England relating to religion or any religious persuasion, and without the design of violating the spiritual liberties of any one.

The news of all these steps produced great consternation amongst the officers in London, and Commissary Clarges was sent immediately to Scotland, accompanied by Colonel Talbot, for the purpose of persuading Monk to abandon his design, and to enter into a treaty with them for the general welfare of the state.

Clarges and Talbot, however, were by no means calculated to fulfil the task imposed upon them, neither of them being strongly attached to the party by whom they were sent. From them Monk learnt the precise state of the Committee, their total want of finances, their disunion amongst themselves, and their suspicion of all who served them. He had gone too far already for any negotiations to be successful, but seeing plainly that delay would every day weaken his enemies while it strengthened himself, he sent three officers to London in order to concert measures with the Committee; furnishing them at the same time

with private orders to contest every step, and draw out the conferences as far as possible.

In the meanwhile Lambert was not inactive. He himself marched down to York; while Carlisle on the one hand and Newcastle on the other, were secured by the English army.

General Monk's envoys either mistook or mismanaged his commission. The treaty was concluded with unnecessary haste, and Monk himself was obliged to take the decided step of refusing to ratify it. This proceeding indeed, he coloured in some degree, by pretending that some of the points were not clear, and by demanding an explanation, but at the same time he felt that the time for delay was past, and he immediately began his march for London.

Lambert had by this time advanced to Newcastle with a strong body of horse and foot; but both were ill disciplined and discontented for want of pay. Monk's army was in a much better state of subordination, was veteran, and well-paid; yet, as he approached his adversary, several large bodies of his cavalry deserted, and his situation was certainly for a time most precarious. Lambert however, took no advantage of his superior numbers; suffered himself to be amused; negotiated instead of acting; and while a discontented and needy host might have been well employed in bold and rapid movements, which at once promised plunder and afforded occupation, he suffered them to waste themselves away in idleness and spend their energies in murmurs, contentions, and mutinies.

Having advanced from Berwick to Coldstream, Monk, with apparent willingness, listened to Lambert's proposal for a treaty between the two armies, and drew out the negotiations with consummate skill, till he found that his opponent was sufficiently weakened in the field; that the confusion in London had reached its highest pitch; and that the Parliamentary party had succeeded in bringing various parts of the country to a state favourable to his views. Lambert with the wish of conciliating Monk and facilitating the treaty, as well as to satisfy his soldiers, withdrew from Northumberland, and retreated upon York. A meeting of the Scotch nobility offered to raise a large force in aid of Monk's design of restoring the Parliament, which proposal, though rejected for the time by the General, was declined in such terms as left the Scotch people well satisfied with

his demeanour, and prepared to support him. Fairfax sent him word from Yorkshire that he was in arms upon Lambert's rear. News arrived that the fleet had declared for the Parliament; that Portsmouth had followed their example, and that the regiments sent against that town had cast off the authority of their officers and joined the garrison. All these favourable tidings showed that the moment for action was come, and passing the Tweed, Monk advanced into England on the first day of the year. The Rubicon was scarcely passed, when a letter was brought to him from Lenthal, the speaker of the Parliament, informing him that Fleetwood and the Committee of Safety, alarmed by the general demonstration of opinion throughout the country, had yielded their usurped power, and restored the Commons to their seats. Many thanks were expressed for Monk's support and firmness; but no orders for marching to London were contained in the epistle, and it was very evident that such a proceeding was not at all what the Parliament desired. Monk, however, had no thoughts of receding. The path he had traced out for himself in the secret depths of his own mind was onward still; and, seeming not in the least to feel the distrust of the Parliament, he commanded the Speaker's letter to be read at the head of the regiments, and amidst the acclamations of the soldiers declared his resolution of leading them to London to see their rulers fixed firmly in their seats.

The march forward was painful, difficult, and obstructed by all the rude obstacles of a bitter and inclement season; but Monk's soldiers were hardy and veteran, and their advance was as rapid as circumstances would admit. In the meanwhile, the news which had brought joy to the army of General Monk, had spread consternation through that of his adversary Lambert. He himself seems to have lost all energy and spirit; and where his whole fortunes were at stake, instead of striking one blow, either against the hasty levies of Fairfax or the inferior forces of Monk, he suffered his army to dissolve, and gladly availed himself of an opportunity to fly.

Monk's march to London was now unopposed, though one great difficulty remained to be overcome. The army of General Fleetwood, which had submitted to the Parliament, was now in London, and superior to his own.

To have this force sent out of the city, and the troops he

brought with him received, was of course the first step to whatever plan he might ultimately determine to pursue; but such a measure could only be effected by the Parliament, and that wretched body were already violently suspicious of his sentiments towards them. The restoration of the excluded members to their seats, or the calling of a new Parliament, were equally unpalatable to them; and yet from every quarter, on his march, Monk was besieged with addresses and petitions beseeching him to restore the free representation of the country. The least incautious word, the smallest symptom of disaffection towards the fanatics, would have confirmed Fleetwood's force in the occupation of the capital, and frustrated all Monk's long-laid and difficult designs. To add to his embarrassment also, two Commissioners, chosen from the most furious members of the Rump, named Scott and Robinson, were sent to meet him, and to watch his demeanour. Monk, however, had a habit of cold silence, which aided wonderfully in the concealment of great projects. The addresses and petitions, after the arrival of the Commissioners, were received as before, and the deputations which presented them were personally well-treated; but Monk was silent on the subject of their request; and the two fanatics supplied the answers, with torrents of abuse and fury.

From St. Alban's, Monk wrote to the Parliament, demanding that Fleetwood's forces—except two regiments which he specified, and of which he had made sure—should be sent out of London; affirming that he did not choose his own well-disciplined and obedient troops, to be mingled with others which had shown such a spirit of riot and insubordination. So completely had he quieted the suspicion of the two Commissioners, that upon their report the Parliament acceded to his request, and Fleetwood's forces were removed, though not without some attempt at mutiny. This, however, was soon quelled; and, after a halt at Barnet, Monk marched into London at the head of his troops, fixing his head-quarters at Whitehall.

Although he had hitherto succeeded in deceiving the Parliament, the whole of England, except those whose fanaticism shut their eyes, very easily divined that the design of General Monk was anything rather than to maintain in power a few wretched madmen, joined with a few disgust-

ing knaves. One party believed his intention to be the summoning a free Parliament, another imagined that his personal aggrandizement was the object, and that a new Protectorate was at hand; but in the midst of many jarring opinions, that which we find from Pepys increased and strengthened every day, was that Monk intended to restore the King; and it seems to be now beyond a doubt that before his arrival in London, his resolution had been taken to that effect.

A reasonable cause for quarrelling with the Parliament in its present state, was the next object to be attained; and this, that body very soon afforded spontaneously. Being conducted to the Council of State, of which he had been named a member, the oath of abjuration was tendered to General Monk. This he declined for the time, declaring that the officers of his army were scrupulous in regard to oaths, and demanding that his mind should be satisfied of the necessity of the one proffered, before he accepted it.

A few days after, Monk was conducted to the House of Commons, and a chair having been placed for him within the bar, the Speaker, in the name of the House, thanked him for his services.

As far as formal reverence could go, Monk showed himself deeply respectful to the Parliament; but his speech in answer to the Speaker's address plainly showed that he knew his power and their weakness. He declined sitting in the chair of honour that had been prepared for him, but standing behind it, he recommended that grievances should be redressed, and that the sober gentry should be encouraged; he deprecated the multiplication of oaths, and prayed that all consideration might be shown for the ease and convenience of the people. These expressions, it is true, were vague and indefinite, but, in the mouth of one naturally silent, habitually cautious, armed with power, and of known resolution, such words grew weighty.

Either encouraged by this demonstration of opposition to the Rump Parliament, or tired out with the government of knaves and fools, the Common-council of the city came to a resolution of not paying any taxes till a free parliament should be called. Enraged by such bold resistance, the Council of State commanded the General to march into the city, to arrest eleven of the Common-councilmen, and to take down the chains and porticullises which then existed. It is

probable that this command was not only given in order to punish the city, but also to try Monk, with whom Hazlerig, Walton, and Morley, had been joined in command since his arrival in London.

Monk knew not yet how far he could trust to his soldiers for support, in opposition to the Parliament. He had led them on to London under the continual pretence of maintaining that very body he now intended to overthrow, and doubtless he was not at all sorry that the Parliament should now put them upon a task, which he felt sure would soon become distasteful to them. He accordingly obeyed without remonstrance, marched into the city, arrested the obnoxious members of the Common council, took up the posts, and broke the chains of the barriers, watching as he did so the growth of discontent and disgust in his soldiers. To all representations he pleaded the orders of the Parliament, and declared himself only an unwilling instrument. By the time that these insane commands had been fulfilled, Monk had fully ascertained the temper of his troops, and had in some degree learned the general feeling of the nation. At the same time, he could well reckon upon the Parliament soon giving him some new commission, equally unpalatable to all; and therefore, having obeyed his orders with precision, he left the city, and returned to Whitehall to wait for the next act of folly which the rulers might commit. The same night he received commands to march back, disarm the city, and take away its charter, which opportunity was not to be lost. Monk assured himself of the concurrence of his officers; and as if in obedience to the Parliament, again marched his troops from Westminster. His reception in the city was of course somewhat cold, but having led his troops to Finsbury-fields, he sought and obtained an interview with the Lord Mayor, wherein his designs were explained.

At the same time, the news of his having sent a letter to the Parliament, reproaching them with seeking to bring himself and his army into detestation and contempt, and requiring them to issue writs for filling up the House within a week, spread like lightning through the whole town. The citizens assembled in immense numbers; the shouts of "God bless your Excellence," were deafening as the General proceeded to the Court of Aldermen; the whole night was spent in hospitality towards the soldiers, and in

lighting bonfires and roasting rumps in ridicule of the Parliament. The bells rung from every steeple, the city was in one blaze of light, and greater joy was expressed at the prospect of a free Parliament than ever greeted a a mighty victory.

The Parliament made various ineffectual efforts to maintain itself in the purity of its debasement. It now threatened, and it now endeavoured to persuade; but Monk's calm resolution was not to be changed either by menaces or caresses. He seems for a short time to have balanced in his mind various plans for restoring a free representation to the country; and at length to have determined upon readmitting the secluded members upon certain conditions, to which they subscribed. Amongst the promises exacted from them, were the two following—to dissolve themselves by a specified time; and to issue writs for summoning a new Parliament to meet on the 20th of April. After these arrangements had been made, the secluded members were brought into the House by Monk's soldiers. The more violent part of the junto immediately abandoned the field, while the moderate party remaining, united with their newly-restored brethren, to provide for the safety of the state.

Monk was immediately created commander-in-chief of the forces, and although he still affected to uphold the Commonwealth, and declare against the return of the King, yet a firm persuasion got abroad, that his ultimate object was the restoration of royalty. "Everybody now drink the King's health without fear," says Pepys, "whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it."

Monk now left the Parliament to their own deliberations, little caring what measures they took during the brief space which was allowed them before the assembling of a new House of Commons. The Royalists wisely kept themselves quiet, and seemed satisfied in regard to what must prove the result of the complicated and difficult part which Monk was playing. The Presbyterians gave the General to understand that they were willing to cooperate in his measures for recalling the King; but prudently abstained from any other steps than such as might overawe the discontented, and support the friends of order and tranquillity. The Republicans were the only enemies

to be overcome; but these were the most dangerous, because at once the most active and the most insidious. They possessed also immense influence in the army; and to divide and neutralize that influence, while he concentrated and strengthened his own, became the first object of Monk's thoughts and endeavours. Having now the supreme command, and being furnished with funds to satisfy all mercenary discontent amongst the privates, he hastened to remove such officers as were ill-disposed towards a regular government. Nor did he restrain his view to one point, or one county, but we find that in an astonishingly brief space of time, the army in all parts of England had undergone changes favourable to royalty, that Scotland and Wales had been provided for, and that a multitude of mutinous movements had been repressed and guarded against, both in near and in remote districts.

At the same time an act was passed for raising the militia, and enrolling the train-bands; and a force was thus created which Monk felt sure would be subservient to his views. The Republican party, and more especially the Republicans of the army, men of both zeal and talent, resolved not to lose their power without an effort; and Monk had to contend as much against dark and wily policy, as against open opposition. Greater part of the crown lands had been distributed amongst the adherents of the Parliament and the Protector; but Hampton Court, with a considerable extent of land, still remained to be disposed of, and this was speedily voted to General Monk, as a reward for his services. Monk had carefully abstained from taking any share of the plunder of royalty, which had been so lavishly distributed during the Commonwealth, and he was not now to be tempted. The offer of Parliament was declined, and he remained free as ever from any participation in the pillage of his King.

The republicans seem to have imagined that the bait was not large enough, and in consequence, they determined upon pressing him to assume the sovereign power. Smollett has imagined that they really intended to submit to Monk as Protector, rather than to expose themselves to the vengeance of injured Majesty; and others have doubted the proposal altogether; but the fact of a large party having offered Monk the Protectorate is now clearly established; and it is much more probable that their in-

tention was to lure him into difficulties and then abandon him, than to give themselves a master, contrary to both their prejudices and their principles. Whatever was their scheme, absolute rejection on the part of General Monk obliged them to abandon it, and their next attempt was to intimidate where they could not seduce. A great meeting of officers was convoked, and a seditious declaration drawn up, in order to force the Parliament to pass an act which would exclude monarchy in any form.

This declaration was presented to Monk, who, after taking a day to consider of it, or, in truth, to frustrate it, gathered together such adherents as he could trust, and met the officers in council. There he suffered a long discussion to be entered into between the malcontents and the persons he had provided to answer them, choosing that the storm of conflicting opinions should be raised and weakened before he interposed his authority to quell it altogether. At length he spoke himself, and after sternly rebuking the officers for attempting to interfere with the civil government whose deliberations they had marched from Scotland to protect, he dismissed them to their quarters, with a command to hold no more assemblies without his especial direction.

Whether the officers found themselves too few and too powerless to urge their declaration in opposition to their commander, or whether there were other means used to satisfy some and remove others, cannot be now ascertained. It is nevertheless certain, that they submitted with extraordinary alacrity, and shortly after signed an agreement, promising perfect obedience to their General, to the Council of State, and to all the commands and resolutions of the free Parliament about to be called.

At length, on the seventeenth of March, the Long Parliament, which had sat at intervals for nearly twenty years, dissolved itself, and are represented by a very simple and original writer of the day, as "passing very cheerfully through the Hall, and the Speaker without his mace. The whole Hall was joyful thereat," adds the author, "as well as themselves, and now they began to talk loud of the King."

The prospect of restored harmony, order, and peace, was doubtless the most joyful that could be offered to England; and everything now tended so evidently towards the recall of the Royal Family, that only one man in the

kingdom could have successfully opposed it—and that one was General Monk. The council of State to which the administration was confided during the dissolution, was formed of men in general well-affected towards the Royal cause. In it Monk had a large party, as well as his individual vote, and at the same time he was commander-in-chief of all the forces by land, and was joined with Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, in the command of the fleet.

Still Monk did not declare himself, and the Royal party began to be alarmed at his long and cautious delay; at length, Sir John Grenville, who had formerly conveyed a message to him in Scotland from Charles II., resolved once more to open the subject to him.

As his cousin, Grenville had free access to the Lord General's levees, and sought every opportunity of privately communicating with him; but for long, Monk studiously avoided all secret conference, and it was not till he had tried by various difficulties the caution of his relation, that at length he consented to an interview. That interview was brought about in the apartments of a Mr. Morrice, a Royalist gentleman whom Monk had for some time especially attached to his person. The accounts given of the conversation between the Royal agent and the General are various and doubtful, but it is beyond question that Monk then avowed himself decidedly favourable to the Royal cause, explained his conduct, and pointed out, with the same wisdom and prudence which had characterized his own conduct, those steps which were necessary for Charles to pursue. At the same time, with sagacious generosity, he refused all offers in regard to personal reward. He made no terms; he urged not a request, when he had a crown in his gift and a King at his mercy. He declared that he would not sell his duty or bargain for his allegiance; and begged that his Majesty the King would not interrupt his more serious considerations by offers of recompense or proposals of reward. With this glad reply Sir John Grenville was sent to the King, who followed precisely the advice he had received. A full commission was returned to Monk, and all measures were concerted for restoring the King without shackling his recall with any conditions. The Presbyterian party, though equally determined upon the restora-

tion, would fain have imposed upon the monarch many hard and galling terms which would have left him a magnificent cypher in his own dominions, and have rendered the Government but a commonwealth miscalled a kingdom.

Assured of Monk, however, in whose hands the real power lay, and trusting to the hurry with which men engaged in such a race endeavour to outrun each other, Charles suffered himself not to be disquieted by these proposals. The elections for the new Parliament continued, and the royalist party were returned in great numbers, but in the midst of these favourable events, a circumstance occurred, which though quickly remedied was well calculated to give temporary alarm. General Lambert, after flying before Monk in his march to London, had been taken and committed to the Tower; but now, as a last resource, the Republican party contrived his escape, and although his evasion was instantly discovered, he managed to reach Warwickshire and gather together a small force.

Colonel Ingoldsby was immediately despatched in pursuit, and Monk prepared in case of the insurrection taking a serious form, to display the King's commission and call to his standard the Royalists of all classes through the Three Kingdoms. This, however, proved unnecessary, Lambert was overtaken by Colonel Ingoldsby at Daventry; his forces made scarcely any resistance, and he himself was taken, after having evinced less courage than he might have been expected to derive even from desperation.

This was the last serious attempt made to frustrate General Monk's designs; but nevertheless he slackened no effort, he spared no precaution; and a few days only before the Parliament met, we find him carefully removing such officers in both the fleet and army, as were likely to embarrass his movements. At length, on the 25th of April, the two Houses of Parliament assembled, but no business of any importance was transacted at their first meeting. The King's arms were now to be seen displayed in various places, the insignia of the Commonwealth were hurried away, the great reaction of long repressed feeling took place, and the voice of loyalty was heard throughout the land.

The time was come, and Sir John Grenville, with Monk's

privity and consent, delivered the King's letter to the Council of State. All were prepared to contribute their share to the change about to be wrought, and each member had contemplated the means of effecting it, but when it was, at once and suddenly, brought before them as a tangible proposition, it seemed to take them all by surprise, and strike them with astonishment and consternation. A resolution was passed that the letter should not be opened till Parliament resumed its sittings, which were suspended till the 1st of May; and a motion was made for the committal of Sir John Grenville, which was only withdrawn on General Monk becoming responsible for his appearance.

The blow being once struck—the object which had long formed the secret desire of a great majority of the nation having once been proclaimed—a thousand voices were found to support it, and all opposition was drowned in shouts of gratulation and tumults of delight. On the first of May, the King's letters were presented to both Houses of Parliament; and an instant vote was passed, declaring, "That, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." Sums were also voted for the immediate use of the monarch and his brothers, his messenger was rewarded, and deputies were appointed to wait upon him at Breda, and conduct him to the English strand.

The army—the factious, difficult army—received the monarch's letter with the same demonstrations of joy which that document had drawn forth from the Parliament; and a country which, not six months before, never heard the King's name breathed but in secrecy and dread, now teemed with loyal addresses, and wooed him with petitions to its shore. Charles was immediately proclaimed in London. Admiral Montague was despatched to the Dutch coast to convey the restored monarch to his dominions, and Monk received the King at Dover, and conducted him in triumph to the capital. At Canterbury the restorer of Royalty began to experience his master's gratitude, and was invested with the Order of the Garter. He was soon after appointed Master of the Horse, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and was summoned to the Upper House of Parliament as Duke of Albemarle, thus rising at once from the rank of a commoner to the highest grade of the Peerage.

Care also was taken that his fortune should be equal to the station to which he was called, and amongst the many charges of neglect and ingratitude which have been urged against Charles II. for his conduct towards those who had upheld his cause or aided in his restoration, the case of General Monk is a strong testimony in favour of the monarch. It is true that, in common policy, he could not forget to reward a man who had placed him on the throne, but he might have allotted the recompense with a more niggard hand where the proportion was left to his own judgment, and a nation of claimants afforded a good excuse for parsimony.

After the Restoration, Monk's life passed in general tranquillity. The disagreeable task of judging the Regicides indeed followed soon upon the King's return; but in the discharge of this duty Monk showed himself as moderate as any of those with whom he was joined. The army was disbanded also, which, to one so long accustomed to military command, could not be but an unpleasant event; and before long the Plague appeared in London, involving all ranks and classes in gloom and destruction. The nobility in general fled from the great charnal which the capital now became, and left those who had no means of seeking refuge in the country, to bear the horrors of their situation alone. The Court removed to Oxford; but by the desire of the King, the Duke of Albemarle remained to maintain order and security in the city. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Craven, also continued during the most severe period of the disease; and, beyond all doubt, the chances of war and battle, with the object of glory and the stimulus of action, required less of either mental or physical courage, than the fearful—the awful command, of a great city against which the destroying angel had unsheathed the burning sword of pestilence.

Monk in no degree evaded the full duties of the task imposed upon him. It has often been proved, that none of the causes which foster and spread vice and crime, have half so great an effect as the demoralizing influence of despair. A thousand examples of this fact might be produced from the history of the great plague of 1665, were such illustration necessary here. But it is sufficient to say, that a rich city, abandoned by the greater part of its population, was not at all safe from the passions and follies of

those that remained, even though the livid plague kept sentinel over the doors whose lords had neither fled for safety or been swept away by the pestilence. An armed force was necessary to protect and restrain; and all the soldiers which could be collected were encamped in Hyde Park, while Monk himself still remained at Whitehall, taking such means, as the state of knowledge at that time permitted, for staying the progress of contagion and maintaining order and law.

Of his personal security he seems never to have thought for one moment; every one had access to him at all times without difficulty or precaution, and he now acquired a glory above successful policy or triumphant arms. He devoted himself for many months to the succour and salvation of his fellow-creatures, every day and every moment looking death calmly in the face, though under a far more horrible and ghastly form than when clothed in fearful splendour as the King of Battles.

Towards the approach of winter the plague began to diminish; and though it still lingered for some time in different parts of the city, and penetrated into various towns and villages throughout the country, it took a mitigated form, and lost a part of its active contagiousness. London resumed its activity and trade; and all thoughts reverted to the naval war then carrying on against the Dutch, over whom Prince Rupert and the Duke of York had gained some successes, though not without some loss. The safety of the heir presumptive to the crown, combined with other motives to restrain Charles from permitting his brother to hazard his person any more in the war, and the Duke of Albemarle was joined in command of the fleet with Prince Rupert.

Monk was now no longer a young man; and it is rather extraordinary to find, that he who in his prime had been renowned for caution and prudence even to a fault, now verged upon rashness in the decline of life. Early in the year, the two Admirals put to sea, and having gained some intelligence that the French fleet was about to send out a small fleet to co-operate with the Dutch, Prince Rupert sailed to meet it, and prevent the junction of the two armaments, while Monk proceeded towards the coast of Holland. Scarcely had he left the Downs, however, when he encountered the Dutch fleet under de Ruyter, amounting to

nearly double his own force. Notwithstanding his inferiority, both in number of vessels, and in weight of metal, Monk resolved to attack the enemy, and accordingly the action was begun by the English.

During the whole of that day it continued with various success, and was resumed the next morning at break of day. The enemy, however, from their number, could better support a long-continued action; and the English fleet, though still maintaining the battle, suffered much during this day's fight. At a council of war held on board the English fleet at night, it was determined to avoid a farther engagement unless Prince Rupert joined; and, after spending the night in refitting, the English fleet retired before the enemy. The Dutch pursued; but by some mismanagement several of the British vessels run upon a sandbank, and it is probable that great part would have been taken or lost, had not Prince Rupert appeared at the same time, and brought his squadron to the aid of Monk. The next morning the battle again commenced, and a severe engagement ensued, in which both parties suffered much; and at night the two fleets separated, in such a situation that both might claim the victory, which neither had absolutely won.

An action without success, of course called up many a charge in London, against every one who had taken any part, either in the battle itself, or the movements that preceded it. The court was much censured for ordering the two admirals to separate. The officers of the Navy Board were attacked for not conveying prompt information to Prince Rupert of intelligence which they had obtained in regard to de Ruyter's strength and intentions. Monk was severely blamed for attacking the enemy without sufficient strength; and he himself declared that he would have beat the whole Dutch fleet before the Prince's arrival, if the captains under his command had fought as they did in the victories he had won thirteen years previously.

To retrieve, however, was now the great object; and every exertion was made to put the fleet in a fit state once more to encounter the enemy at sea.

The Dutch were first prepared, and for some days insulted the English coast unopposed, but on the 23d of July, Monk and Rupert once more quitted the mouth of the river, and the enemy drew off towards their own shores. Two

days afterwards the British fleet came up with the Dutch early in the morning. The forces were as nearly equal as possible, and the battle lasted from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, when de Ruyter drew off and bore away. His retreat, however, was skilfully performed, and the English gained but little advantage, except that of keeping the sea and driving the enemy into their ports. In this pursuit two large ships only were captured by the British fleet, but in the battle the Dutch loss in killed and wounded was immensely greater. Three admirals, a great number of captains, and several thousand men, by their own account, fell on board their ships, while the slaughter amongst the English officers and sailors was comparatively trifling. To reap some farther benefit from this victory, the two British admirals remained upon the Dutch coast. Sir Robert Holmes was sent upon an expedition against a fleet of merchantmen at Schelling, and part of his force being landed, and part employed in boats, he plundered and burnt the town, together with nearly a hundred trading vessels, and returned to the fleet with very little loss.

The Duke of Albemarle was shortly after this recalled to London, where the accidental fire which had destroyed a part of the city, had given rise to a thousand vague and visionary fears. The only military duty which he was called upon to discharge after this, appears to have been the command of a small army sent to the coast to guard against any attempts of the Dutch, who still kept the seas. At length the peace relieved him of this charge also, and finding his health begin to decline, he retired into the country, and endeavoured to shake off disease by quiet and repose. His constitution, however, seems to have been broken by fatigues and anxieties, and he was seized with dropsical symptoms, which though relieved for a time by the prescriptions of an empiric, and by the country air during a fine summer, gradually returned as the winter approached.

In this state he went back to London, where, becoming worse each day, the restorer of the house of Stuart met with all decent attention from the Royal Family during his last illness. He abstained not it seems from public business to the last moment; but the principal object of his attention was the marriage of his only son, at that time but seventeen, with a daughter of the Duke of Newcastle. The previous

arrangements were soon completed, and the marriage was solemnized in Monk's presence, only four days before his death. At length, on the 3d of January 1670, the Duke of Albemarle expired, leaving behind him a character which has been judged more variously than perhaps that of any other man.

The violent parties which were born of the civil wars, viewed the conduct of Monk in the most opposite aspects; nor was it alone those two factions, which would have excluded the King, or shackled his return with unworthy conditions, which either misrepresented General Monk's actions or imputed to him evil motives, or depreciated his talents.

Those persons who had concurred in the Restoration, hated him who had effected it with the virulence of rivalry, strove to invalidate his claims, in order to enhance their own, and envied him the rewards which they had neither merited nor obtained. Thus the disappointed Cavalier, the thwarted Presbyterian, the crushed Republican, are alike found slighting Monk's abilities and denying his merit. Bishop Burnet himself, with the violent party-feeling which overcame in him sometimes both an excellent judgment and a strong love of truth, has spoken lightly of Monk's understanding. But in the very writings of the men who would condemn him, we find the highest tribute to his character. If we take but the facts which they state, and put aside the prejudices with which they comment on them, we shall perceive that Monk distinguished himself highly in early life, and won the esteem of both parties in the State, when both were prolific in men of great and extraordinary genius. We shall find that he was eminently successful against the greatest officer the Dutch ever produced—that in his command in Scotland he reduced a turbulent, dissatisfied, and irritated population, to quietude and order; and did so by means which at once compelled their obedience, obtained their respect, and won their love—that in a most difficult and extraordinary time he acted with consummate prudence, skill, and firmness, repressed insurrections, guided the obstinate, governed the unruly, intimidated the fierce, overawed the bold, and without the effusion of a drop of blood, conducted a total revolution in thoughts, feelings, policy, and government, to a safe and speedy termination.

A man may perchance gain one victory, or more—increase his wealth, or raise himself in station, by a mere concatenation of fortunate circumstances; but a man cannot go through a long and complicated enterprize, where many are opposed to him, and all are jealous of him, where he has frequently to change his conduct without changing his object, where he has to take advantage of some circumstances and create others, without many of those qualities of mind which constitute a great man.

Monk did so, and he was a great man. Nor can it be said that he was ungenerous, though the rewards that he obtained made many envious, and the wealth he acquired offered a fair excuse for party accusation. His admission of the King, without making any terms for himself, was either an act of noble feeling or of policy. If of noble feeling it speaks for itself; and if of policy, it was that of generous policy which none could conceive or appreciate but a generous heart. Taken by itself it was a fine and magnificent action, and as such will be remembered when the politics of those times are forgotten, and prejudices are no more.

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